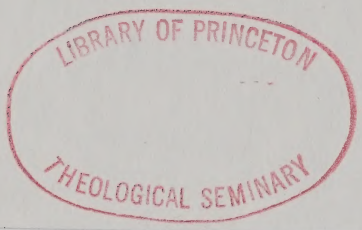

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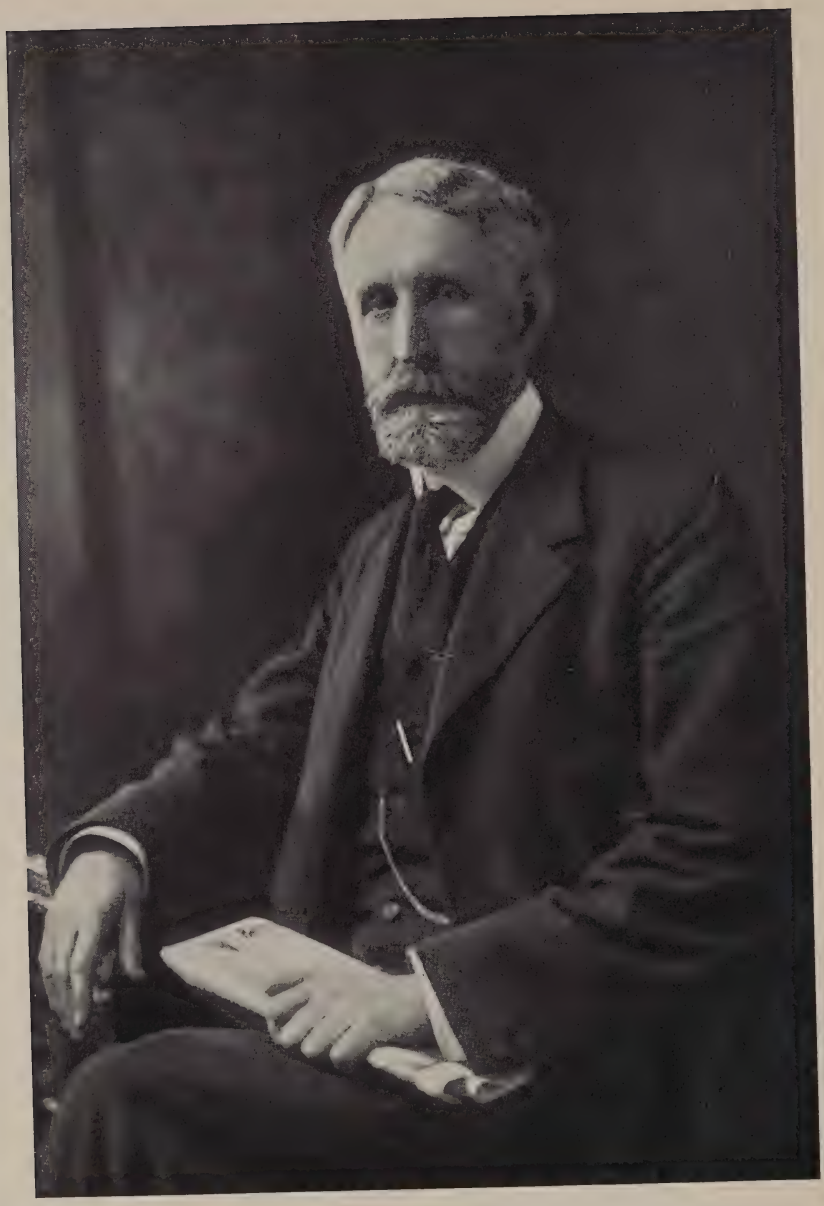
1863-1927.
Collected papers of Herbert
D. Foster

COLLECTED PAPERS

OF

HERBERT D. FOSTER



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COLLECTED PAPERS

OF

HERBERT D. FOSTER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT
DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
1893–1927

HISTORICAL
AND
BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES

PRIVATELY PRINTED
1929

THE SCRIBNER PRESS

I ALWAYS think of my brother as a man who enjoyed the fullness of life, a student, but also a lover of Nature, a sympathetic, wise and happy companion, and a friend of little children. From the lake in Maine, where he swam and paddled, to the lake of Geneva, where he did much of his research work, he found life good. This book represents but a small part of my brother's research. But it has been thought of, worked over and made a reality by those who knew and loved him, so that it is not merely a book, but a tribute to his life among us.

HARRIET DARLING FOSTER.

PREFACE

It was once said of Professor Foster that his literary output would be small because he was not content to go merely "plow deep." This characteristic is well illustrated in a letter which he wrote only a few days before his death: "I am really enjoying getting at the social and economic teachings of Calvinism, especially in America. . . . I must have read well over 400 sermons upon such matters and find them interesting." He carried this passion for thoroughness into everything that he did,—and his interests were varied, his contacts many,—with the result that his time and energy were being constantly drawn away from his historical research. In spite of this, however, he had become known as one of the world's authorities on Calvin and Calvinism, and the time seemed near when he would round out his life by the completion of his book on "The Puritan and Calvinistic States"—"perhaps," as he wrote, "a doubly damned title." In lieu of what might have been, these papers on various aspects of Calvinism have been gathered together as worthy of permanent form.

No book would be representative of Professor Foster's life which did not reflect his love for Dartmouth College and his interest in its history. But the article on Webster's 7th of March speech is more than a testimonial of this devotion—it is a new interpretation of a critical period of American history,—while the paper on the Dartmouth of Webster and Choate throws considerable light on the training given and received in the earlier days of an American college.

This little volume of collected papers is, therefore, presented on its own merits; those responsible for its compilation wish it also to be a memorial to a competent scholar, a forceful teacher, a striking personality, and a valued friend.

A. H. B.

HANOVER, N. H.,
July 10, 1929.

AN APPRECIATION

BY FRANK M. ANDERSON[1]
Professor of History at Dartmouth College

THE announcement of the death of Professor Herbert D. Foster, '85, brings sorrow to hundreds of Dartmouth alumni, as well as to the present membership of the College and to the people of Hanover. As alumnus, veteran member of the faculty, and as citizen of Hanover, he was well known and will be deeply missed. In life he played an influential and important part in the development of the College. His death leaves a gap which cannot be filled.

Professor Foster was born at West Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1863. His father, grandfather, brother, and numerous uncles and cousins were Dartmouth men. The greater part of his boyhood was spent at Winchendon, Massachusetts, where his father served a long pastorate as a much-beloved Congregational minister. His preparation for college was made at Phillips Exeter Academy. To his intimate friends he often expressed gratitude and appreciation for the exact and thorough training he received there.

Entering Dartmouth in the fall of 1881 he participated in the life of the College in many different forms. In scholarship he took high rank in Greek and Latin, became member of Phi Beta Kappa, and was one of the speakers at Commencement. In student activities he was at one time secretary and at another time president of his class, president of the Y. M. C. A., and one of the winners of the first prize for the doubles in tennis. He was a member of the Theta Delta Chi fraternity.

For six years after graduation Professor Foster taught at

[1] Reprinted from the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, February, 1928.

Worcester Academy. During all of that time he had the good fortune to serve under the leadership of Dr. D. W. Abercrombie, a teacher and leader of rare capacity and power who left upon him a deep and abiding impress. His varied duties in Greek, English, German, and history and in the maintenance of the strict discipline which characterized Worcester Academy undoubtedly helped to develop in him many of the strong qualities which distinguished his later work at Dartmouth. During the last two or three years of his service at Worcester Academy his interest in history grew rapidly and became henceforth his main interest.

In 1891 he was appointed Morgan Fellow in history at Harvard University, where he studied for two years in the graduate school. Toward the end of that period he was appointed professor of history at Dartmouth with a year's leave of absence for study and travel abroad. The time was spent in study in England and in Germany and in travel in Italy, Greece, and Egypt. While at Florence he first met Miss Lillian Darlington Smith, of Liverpool, to whom he was afterwards married in 1897.

Returning to Dartmouth in the fall of 1894 Professor Foster confronted a situation which was at once a challenge and an opportunity. The new day at Dartmouth which was ushered in at the coming of President Tucker had just begun. Although three or four other men, including John Wheelock, had borne the title professor of history and at other times there had been occasional classes in history taught by men whose major interest lay in some other field, there had never been any teaching of history according to the concept and by the methods which Professor Foster was prepared to use and for which he felt a burning enthusiasm. At Dartmouth, too, as at practically all the American colleges of the day, while there was excellent teaching in many classrooms, there was also prevalent a strong tendency to accept as a necessary evil much loose and slipshod work. To many students a new professor who insisted on getting

from everybody close, careful, and accurate work, involving the expenditure of much time at the college library, was a dangerous innovator. As a teacher of history, new style, Professor Foster had before him the work of a pioneer.

In consequence, his early years as professor at Dartmouth were filled with hard work, often carried on under trying circumstances. Probably the most disagreeable of his experiences was the one often referred to and remembered by many Dartmouth men because it served to bring to an end a practice from which many and perhaps all of Dartmouth's most revered teachers had at some time suffered. This was the practice of "horning." The quiet, reserved, and dignified way in which Professor Foster acted on the occasion when he was the unlucky victim of that practice contributed in large degree to the success of the measures which President Tucker then took to put a stop to all further outburst of that sort. Within a short time after the affair many of the men who had thoughtlessly taken a part in the trouble came to be among Professor Foster's most appreciative friends.

The rapid growth of Dartmouth in size, which set in soon after Professor Foster began his work, laid upon him some difficult tasks of administration and organization. His success in picking colleagues as his department developed was noteworthy. Several of the men he brought to Dartmouth did their first teaching under his direction. Almost without exception they proved successful and quite a number of them have won notable success. Becker, Boyd, Abbott, and Fay, to mention only a few examples taken from among those who having served Dartmouth for a time afterwards went elsewhere, have shown his sagacity in picking men of ability. His talent for organization of teaching and for enlisting the effective co-operation of his colleagues was particularly marked in the handling of the introductory course, History One. From some knowledge of how that difficult problem has been handled in a considerable number of col-

leges and universities I feel warranted in saying that in few places, if in any, was the problem worked out as well and as early as at Dartmouth. Although no attempt was ever made to push the use of the syllabus which he prepared in collaboration with Professor Fay, it exerted a large influence in shaping similar courses at other institutions. In every year Professor Foster gave with notable success one or more advanced courses. But History One was always his chief teaching interest. He took pride and satisfaction in giving his best to that course. I do not know of any other college or university where the senior member of the department for so long a period gave his strength so largely to the introductory course.

For about twenty-five years Professor Foster served as Head of the History Department. Then about nine years ago a general reorganization took place within the College. President Hopkins and the trustees, with the cordial approval of the faculty, having decided that the time had come when permanent heads of departments should be replaced by chairmen and that in the larger departments the office should be filled in rotation, Professor Foster served as chairman for two periods of two years each and then in accordance with the new custom gave place to a colleague who served for a similar period and was then succeeded by another. This change of method did not, however, involve any pronounced alteration in actual practice in the History Department. As head Professor Foster had always consulted his colleagues both individually and collectively as regards everything of any importance and all decisions of consequence had been reached by consensus of opinion after full discussion in department meeting. Whether he served as head, chairman, or simply as a member his rôle as leading influence was always freely recognized by his colleagues.

Professor Foster always believed and acted on the principle that the first duty of a college professor is to teach. But he was equally convinced that college professors ought also

to do research. He felt a serious obligation to do everything in his power to extend the domain of knowledge. In the discharge of that duty he early entered upon a field of investigation which he pursued unremittingly and in which he achieved recognition both in the United States and abroad as a leading authority. This was in the history of Calvinism. His high standing as an authority in that field brought him in 1909 the honor of a Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Geneva.

Professor Foster was deeply interested in Calvinism as a theological system, recognizing in it a mighty force which had shaped the religious and moral natures of millions of men and women in many lands during a period of nearly four hundred years. He was, perhaps, even more interested in the political and social influences which Calvinistic thinking had exerted in the modern world. To a degree that was given to but few men he grasped the significance of the ideas of Calvin and his followers in matters of government, education, trade, and industry. He was especially interested in tracing the manner in which the ideas that John Calvin had proclaimed were modified, diffused, and applied by his followers in many lands, many of whom did not themselves fully realize the source from which their ideas were derived. In pursuit of knowledge on that subject he made many journeys to Europe, spending long periods of hard study at Geneva, London, and Paris and shorter periods in various regions where Calvinistic influence had at any time been particularly strong. No amount of trouble and no expenditure of time seemed too great if thereby he could add something to his knowledge of his subject. Some of the results of his painstaking study were published from time to time in articles which appeared in the *American Historical Review*, the *Hibbert Journal*, the *Harvard Theological Review*, and in other learned journals. It was well known to his intimate friends and to specialists in his field of study that he was at work upon a large book which would bring together the

results of his work. It was to have been called *The Puritan State*. But the scope of it was to have been wider than the title might indicate, for his theme was the diffusion of Calvinistic political and social ideas. He had hoped and expected during the sabbatical year on which he had entered to complete the research and to get the writing well along toward completion. At present nothing certain is known as to the precise status in which he left his work. It is to be feared, however, that the tremendous difficulty of the subject and the scarcity of qualified specialists in that field may result in the loss of the most valuable portions of his labor. If so, the loss to scholarship will be heavy indeed.

As an investigator Professor Foster did not confine himself exclusively to the history of Calvinism. His intense interest in everything connected with Dartmouth led him into extended investigation into the history of the College and the lives of some of its famous graduates. He was particularly interested in Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate. His studies upon Webster showed conclusively that widely accepted ideas about Webster's indolence as a student and excessive drinking rest upon nothing more substantial than idle gossip and hostile assertions by political opponents and that the really pertinent evidence points to the conclusion that Webster was diligent as a student and did not indulge in liquor beyond what was customary in his day. One of Professor Foster's studies upon Webster attracted a great deal of attention. It was upon Webster's much discussed Seventh of March Speech. Professor Foster brought together an imposing array of evidence to show that, contrary to the assertions of Webster's critics, the Union was in serious danger of disruption and apparently could be saved only by compromise. Webster's course in supporting the Compromise of 1850, which he advocated in that speech, Professor Foster argued with great cogency, should be attributed to his love for the Union, rather than to presidential aspirations and indifference to slavery, as his political opponents charged.

The very active life which Professor Foster led as teacher and historical investigator did not consume all of his attention. In his church and in the life of the community he was always active. By inheritance and by conviction he found a place to fill in the Church of Christ at Dartmouth College and had at all times a leading part in its activities. In town and village affairs he was always deeply interested, attested among other things by the editorial work he bestowed upon the publication of the Hanover town records.

He was for many years the secretary and most active official of the Stockbridge Club, an organization for the boys of Hanover. The splendid work of that useful institution was largely due to his interest in it. It was in another form what his intimate friends knew to be one of his most characteristic traits, a deep love of children. At Christmas as Santa Claus at the Sunday School celebration and as the leader of the children's chorus which sang carols under the windows of the sick and those confined to their homes he helped to bring joy into many lives, both young and old.

His activity over a long period as class secretary was a labor of love which brought him rich returns in the appreciation of his classmates and was evidenced by the remarkable way in which they responded to all appeals in behalf of the College. To an extent which was rare even among the most devoted sons of Dartmouth he gave himself without stint to the service of the College. A few days before his death he wrote in one of his last letters a few words which fittingly sum up his life: "I have to make an effort not to think too much of College and Department work."

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COLLECTED PAPERS

OF

HERBERT D. FOSTER

GENEVA BEFORE CALVIN (1387–1536). THE ANTECEDENTS OF A PURITAN STATE[1]

AN examination of the conditions in Geneva before Calvin's arrival in August, 1536, is a logical introduction to a comparative study of the ideals, the development and the practices of the Puritan state in Geneva, and in New and old England.

The problems which present themselves to the investigator of any phase of Puritanism can be satisfactorily answered only after patient investigation of the development of each of these three Puritan states, and careful discrimination between conditions in different states and at different periods. The far-reaching questions involved in the study of the rise of modern democracy, the results of the Protestant Revolt, and the causes of the French Revolution demand the same careful comparative treatment. Is there any tangible, historically demonstrable, relation between the two revolts? What contribution was made by the Puritan state, on the one hand, to the development of liberty, self-government, democracy, equality, right of revolution, spirit of free inquiry, higher moral and social sense; and, on the other hand, to the development of inquisitorial government, intolerance, aristocracy, hypocrisy, individualism, barren intellectuality? In the Puritan commonwealths of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what were the respective functions and relative powers of State and Church, and the theoretical and the actual basis of membership in each? What was the Puritan attempt at solving the perennial problems of national expansion and treatment of subject classes or peoples, federation and rights of local self-government? What were the distinguishing characteristics, and the measure of success and failure in each Puritan state? Is there any fundamental unity

[1] Reprinted from *American Historical Review*, January, 1903.

of aim and method in the Puritan commonwealths that distinguishes them from other states? What enduring contributions for good and ill did the Puritan state make? These are some of the problems that arise and demand historical and comparative treatment in order to be answered.

To such a comparative study, this investigation of the history of Geneva before it came under Calvin's influence is a necessary preliminary. Geneva was at once independent, Protestant and republican. No other state possessing these characteristics has both so early an origin and so wide an influence. The city is small enough to make possible a clear picture of the beginnings and organization of a Protestant republic; and on most points there is ample contemporary evidence. Yet Genevan history, and especially the period before Calvin, has never in English been treated with accuracy and fullness.[1]

Geneva, with its mass of contemporary documents in manuscript and print, presents the material for a fascinating study of the genesis of a state, a bit of historical investigation with all the charm of biology. There are almost daily records of the legislative, judicial and executive acts of the civil authority, weekly records of church discipline, and memoranda of pastors' meetings.[2] The actors in the strug-

[1] No modern and scholarly history of Geneva, even in the time of Calvin, exists in English. The histories of Spon (trans. 1687) and of Lemercier ("Boston, New England, 1732") are quite out of date. Henry's *Life of Calvin*, still the most scholarly available in English (translation from the German), was finished in 1844, before the publication of the important documents and secondary works named below, and is distinctly favorable to Calvin and inadequate regarding Genevan institutions. The accounts in Baird's *Beza* and in Schaff's *History of the Christian Church* are modern, but from their nature give but little on the history of Geneva. The influence and importance of Geneva have been in English more eulogized than traced.

[2] At the *Archives d'État* in the Hôtel de Ville, especially useful are: the invaluable *Registres du Conseil* from 1409, containing records of meetings of all four councils, including discussions, votes, elections, laws, trials; the 5319 *Procès Criminels et Informations* (indexed), A. D. 1396–1700; the *Pièces Historiques*, A. D. 934–1813, containing 5714 indexed numbers (*pièces* or *dossiers*), acts, diplomatic documents, etc. The almost illegible *Registres du Consistoire*, beginning Feb. 16, 1542, are at the *Consistoire* of Geneva; the carelessly kept memoranda of the *Compagnie des Pasteurs et Professeurs*, with many *lacunae*, from 1546, at the same building. (See H. V. Aubert's article in *Bulletin de Soc. d'Hist. et d'Archéol. de Gen.*, II, 3, p. 138 ff. (1900).) The first four volumes of the *Registres du Conseil* (1409–1461) have been

gle, the picturesque Bonivard,[1] "Prisoner of Chillon," the tolerant Syndic Balard,[2] the hot-blooded reformer Fromment,[3] the Calvinistic secretary of the council Roset,[4] the graphic nun in exile Jeanne de Jussie,[5] with their varied points of view, describe with dramatic power the scenes they witnessed. The reformers in their almost daily correspondence give a more personal record of motives as well as acts.[6]

published by E. Rivoire (Geneva, Kündig, 1900). Extracts, with some documents in full, are printed in Turrettini and Grivel, *Les Archives de Genève, Inventaire des Documents Contenus dans les Portefeuilles Historiques et les Registres des Conseils*, 1528–1541, Geneva, 1877. A considerable number of extracts from the *Registres* are to be found in: Grenus, *Fragmens Biog. et Hist. sur Genève* (1815); the appendix (219 pp.) of Revilliod's ed. of Fromment; Cornelius, *Hist. Arbeiten;* Rilliet et Dufour, *Le Prem. Cat. Franç. de Calvin*, 1537 (1878); Herminjard, *Corr. d. Ref.;* and the valuable "Annales" (*Calv. Opera*, XXI); the last four with modern accuracy. Full titles below.

[1] F. Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève* (to 1531), (ed. Revilliod, 1867); also his *Advis et Devis de l'Ancienne et Nouvelle Police de Genève* (1560), (1847). The place of publication is Geneva unless otherwise indicated.

[2] J. Balard (Le Syndic), *Journal ou Relation des Événements qui se sont passés à Genève de 1525 à 1531.* (*Mém. et Doc. de Soc. d'Hist.*, X [ed. Chaponnière], 1854.)

[3] A. Fromment, *Les Actes et Gestes Merveilleux de la Cité de Genève*, etc. (1532–1536 [ed. Revilliod], 1854.)

[4] Michel Roset, *Les Chroniques de Genève.* (Ed. Henry Fazy, 1894.)

[5] Jeanne de Jussie, *Le Levain du Calvinisme, ou Commencement de l'Hérésie de Genève.* (Chambéry, about 1640. With notes by Grivel and Th. Dufour, 1865.)

[6] Two invaluable pieces of patient scholarship: Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, *Calvini Opera*, 59 quarto vols. (Braunschweig, 1863–1900.) Vol. XXI, under head of "Annales," contains extracts from Registers of Council and Consistory and other documents; Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les Pays Français.* (9 vols., 1886–1897.) Many extracts from documents in notes.

Some of the most valuable secondary authorities, based on documents, are: A. Roget, *Les Suisses et Genève ou l'Émancipation de la Communauté Genevoise au 16e Siècle* (2 vols. in 1, 1864); *Histoire du Peuple de Genève depuis la Réforme jusqu'à l'Escalade* (7 vols., 1870–1883). Extends only to 1568.

J. A. Gautier (Sec. d'État, 1684–1695, 1698–1700), *Histoire de Genève des Origines à l'Année 1691.* (5 vols., 1896 to 1902; now appearing under auspices of Soc. d'Hist. de Genève, with scholarly notes.)

Chas. Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, L'Académie de Calvin, 1559–1798. (1900.)

E. Choisy, *La Théocratie à Genève au Temps de Calvin.* (1897.) *L'État Chrétien Calviniste à Genève au Temps de Théodore de Bèze.* (1902.)

C. A. Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten vornehmlich zur Reformationszeit* (Part IV, Zur Geschichte Calvins, 1536–1548, pp. 105–557). (Leipzig, 1899.)

F. W. Kampschulte, *Johann Calvin seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf.* (Leipzig, 1869, Vol. 1; Vol. 2, ed. by W. Goetz, 1899, after author's death.)

Mémoires et Documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève (27 vols., 1840–1901), and the *Bulletins* of the same Society (1891 and after) are of very great value.

Some of the *Bulletins de l'Institut National Genevois* contain studies of documents.

Both Gaberel (*Histoire de l'Église de Genève*) and the two Galiffes (*Matériaux*, etc., *Nouvelles Pages*, etc.) are unfortunately disfigured by partizanship, Gaberel by inaccuracy.

The following preliminary sketch may serve to outline with some historical perspective two things:

1. The development of Genevan political independence (1387–1536) and religious reform (1532–1536).

2. The resulting institutions and character before Calvin's arrival in August, 1536.

After the varied fortunes of an ancient Roman and a medieval imperial city, Geneva, at the close of the thirteenth century, was under the threefold government of bishop, *vidomne*, and commune. The bishops, in times of shifting political power, had, by feudal concessions, become the lords (*dominus*) of the city under the emperor as suzerain. The *vidomne* was the bishop's deputy (*vicedominus*) for the execution of temporal justice. At the close of the thirteenth century, the house of Savoy after long conflict had won the feudal office of *vidomne*, which it held of the bishop nearly two centuries and a half (1290–1525). Lastly, the commune, the body of citizens, elected its syndics possessing limited administrative powers.

The commune had sufficiently developed its rights and power by 1387, to win from the prince-bishop the "*franchises*," the Magna Charta of Geneva, which gave the dignity of law and written constitution to the existing customs.[1] These *franchises* confirmed the right of the citizens to elect four syndics and four other citizens, who together should have entire cognizance of criminal trials of laymen, unless the bishop evoked the cause or pardoned the offense. The four syndics also possessed police powers of the city by night, with watchmen to enforce their orders; investigated and prosecuted violation of the *franchises*, and received the oaths of the bishop and his officers to respect this charter. The bishop as prince had the rights of appeal, pardon, and coin-

[1] The Latin text of the *franchises* ("*Libertates, franchesie, immunitates, usus et consuetudines*") is printed in parallel columns with the instructive French translation of 1455, with a valuable introduction by E. Mallet, in *Mém. et Doc. de Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. de Genève*, II, 271–399. For a brief résumé, see his "Coup d'Œil Historique et Descriptif sur le Canton de Genève" (B. C. 58–A. D. 1847) in Vol. II of *La Suisse Historique et Pittoresque* (1855–1856; also separately 1856).

ing money. His feudal deputy, the *vidomne*, exercised the temporal functions of guarding and executing prisoners and of presiding over an inferior civil court.[1]

The communal records of the next century and a half (1387–1536) show marked skill in municipal housekeeping and in defense and extension of rights of self-government. Besides the primary assembly of all citizens (*consilium generale*), which elected syndics and acted upon treaties, three indirectly representative councils were developed: the little council (*consilium ordinarium*, or *petit conseil*), the administrative body; the council of sixty, for diplomatic affairs; and the council of two hundred established in 1527 on the model of that of the new allies, Freiburg and Bern, and gradually replacing the sixty.[2] There is a strong spirit of independence toward the aggressive Duke of Savoy and even the bishop. But the records also reveal an interesting tendency to concentrate power in the hands of a smaller number of citizens, a sort of open administrative aristocracy of experience. This tendency was recognized at the time, and occasionally thwarted by the primary assembly's assertion of its rights. The council of sixty (or fifty), and later that of two hundred, replace the general assembly in delicate matters.[3] In the choice of the councils there is also the same tendency to a less direct election and a more complex coöptation. For

[1] Articles 1, 8, 11–14, 22, 23, 68.—Bonivard gives a graphic account of *vidomne's* origin and methods, and of the "everlasting" process of appeals to bishop, metropolitan (Vienne) and pope, in his *De l'Ancienne et Nouvelle Police de Genève* (1560), pp. 3, 8, 22 (ed. 1847). The *franchises* are remarkably liberal and progressive. Interest taking was recognized and protected in four of these articles granted by a bishop of the Roman Church nearly a century and a half before Calvin wrote his luminous defense of interest taking; art. 34, 35, 39, 77. Calvin's "De usuris" is in *Calvini Opera*, X, Part I, 245–249.

[2] Rivoire, *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, I. The *consilium generale* and *consilium ordinarium* appear in the earliest extant records; viz., 1409, pp. 2–6. The *consilium ordinarium* consisted at first of sixteen, later of twenty-five, and included the four new and the four old syndics, the treasurer, and eight (later sixteen) councillors. *Ibid.*, 28, 49, etc. The council of fifty (numbered later sixty) was established 1457. *Ibid.*, 167. For council of two hundred, see Gautier, *Hist. d. Genève*, II, 240; Bonivard, *Chron. d. Gen.*, L, IV, C, 10. For fuller statement of functions of councils see writer's review of Rivoire, *Registres du Conseil*, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, April, 1902, p. 547.

[3] For council of fifty see Rivoire, *Registres du Conseil*, I, 178, 181–187, 217–218, 288; for two hundred, see acts, cited later, and Mallet, in *La Suisse Hist. et Pittoresque*, 552.

example, the election of the council of fifty is transferred from the primary assembly to the little council in 1459;[1] the little council, originally chosen by the popularly elected syndics is, from 1530, elected by the two hundred, and the two hundred by the little council.[2] Aristocratic tendencies in Geneva appear not with Calvin, but during the three generations preceding his arrival.

The first step in the emancipation of Geneva was the struggle against Savoy. This ambitious house, already possessing the office of *vidomne*, and intriguing throughout the fifteenth century to dominate both bishop and commune, excited the latter's bitter hostility in 1519 by the execution of Berthelier, who thus became the early martyr for Genevan liberty. After an apparent triumph in 1525, the Duke of Savoy left the city. In spite of persistent attack and intrigue neither he nor any member of his house was to enter Geneva again. Against Savoy, Geneva appealed to the Swiss, and in 1526 concluded to close political and military alliance with Freiburg and Bern.[3]

In 1528, the council refused to accept the *vidomne* nominated by the duke, instead of by the bishop as prescribed by the *franchises*.[4] In the absence of any *vidomne*, the council of two hundred assumed the authority for the execution of a criminal in 1528;[5] and in the following year the primary

[1] Rivoire, *Registres du Conseil*, I, 288. After failing in 1458, the two smaller councils succeed in 1460 in nominating syndics for election by primary assembly. See *ibid.*, 258–259, 262–263, 386, 390.

[2] H. Fazy, *Constitutions de Genève*, 37–38. Bonivard, *De l'Anc. et Nouv. Police*, 19–22 (1847). For example of election of council by syndics, see Rivoire, *Registres du Conseil*, I, 49, 108, 265–266. For primary assembly's assertion of rights in 1458–1460, see Rivoire, *ibid.*, 258–259, 263 (elections); 303 (meetings and right of complaint); 395–396, 463–465, 468 (taxes). For acts of 1518, 1534, see p. 25, note 2.

[3] This *combourgeoisie* (following that with Freiburg in 1519), renewed with Bern 1558, and 1584 (with Zürich added), was the preliminary to the entrance into the Swiss Confederation, 1814. The Genevan party of independence in 1526 were named *Eidguenots* in imitation of their Swiss confederates (*Eidgenossen*). (Treaty in Archives, *Pièces Hist.*, No. 964; reprinted in Gautier's ed., Spon (1730), "Preuves.")

[4] The decision was taken successively according to Genevan custom in important matters, by the syndics (May 24), the fifty and the two hundred (June 9), and the primary assembly (*consilium generale*) (June 14, 1528). See Roget, *Suisses et Genève*, I, 298–299, 301; and Balard, *Journal*, 167–169.

[5] Roget, I, 303; Balard, *Journal*, 173.

assembly (*consilium generale*) replaced the *vidomne* by a *lieutenant de justice* and four *auditeurs*.[1]

There remained the power of the vacillating and absent prince-bishop, who, in 1528, had gone over from the side of the commune to that of the Duke of Savoy. After an absence of six years, the bishop was persuaded to return, but after less than two weeks' residence, and in spite of the earnest request of the syndics to aid them in quieting the violent disturbances between Catholics and "Lutherans," he took a hurried departure from the city the night of July 14, 1533, never to return. A month later the syndics denied the right of the bishop to appeal from their decision in criminal cases, saying "we have no superiors." Before the end of the following year, the primary assembly and the two hundred concurred in denying the bishop's right of pardon; the little council declared at the close of a theological dispute that "the sole power was the word of Christ and the sword which he has committed to the powers"; and the syndics and council voted, Oct. 1, 1534, that the episcopal see must be considered vacant.[2]

From the end of July, 1534, Geneva was fighting to maintain, against the attacks of both duke and bishop, its declarations of independence. The task called for great sacrifice and energy. Bells were melted for cannon, and the suburbs (*faubourgs*) which enabled the enemy to approach were destroyed, in spite of repeated objections of property owners.[3] Men, if we may believe Fromment, went to church and worked on the fortifications with arms in their hands.[4] The

[1] 14th Nov., 1529. Roget, I, 341–342.

[2] Aug. 8–12, 1533; Feb. 8, July 24, Oct. 1, 1534. Roget, *Suisse et Genève*, II, 76; Gautier, *Hist. d. Gen.*, II, 407; Roget, II, 103, 110, 125.

[3] The four *faubourgs* were: de Rive, St. Victor, St. Leger, the Corraterie. (E. Mallet, *Rech. sur Pop. de Gen.*, p. 8.) Aug. 23, 1534, two hundred sanctioned order of little council; Roget, *ibid.*, II, 118 ff. Oct. 25, 1535, indemnity for loss voted. Feb. 28, 1536 (*Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 33), the two hundred repeated order and gave permission to anyone to carry off any property (*biens*) to be found. Delayed cases were recorded in Feb., 1537. This destruction of property, and the loss of trade through the duke's prohibition entailed much poverty and suffering in Geneva.

[4] *Actes et Gestes Merveilleux*, Ch. 44.

duke prohibited all sales to Genevans, and the bishop any communication with them.[1] The Genevans displayed as keen mettle in war as they had in politics, and with the aid of Bern once more showed themselves too strong, too capable of self-sacrifice, for duke and bishop.

Up to 1533, the struggle had been political, against the duke and bishop as temporal rulers hostile to Genevan chartered rights. But there was another ground for objecting to the régime of the ecclesiastical prince. "There were," says a recent Catholic writer on Geneva, "real and evident abuses to be noted among the Catholics and even among the higher clergy . . . and above all among the monks."[2]

But the records plainly show that it was to her ally and protector Bern that Geneva owed not only the preaching, but the final adoption of the Reformation. Bern, which had adopted the reform in 1528, naturally sought to increase her influence with her ally by introducing it into Geneva. In 1532 the desire for reform already existing there was stimulated by the impetuous preaching of Farel and Fromment, the former armed with a letter from Bern. This move was promptly met by complaints by Geneva's other Swiss but Catholic ally, Freiburg, and by the papal nuncio.[3] For more than three years the skilful councils tried to pursue a middle course between the demands of the two allies, and between the two extreme parties within the city. It is one more instructive picture of the impossibility of that generation's remaining neutral. The mettlesome city that had overthrown the power of the Duke of Savoy might engage to remain

[1] Talking or trading with, or serving, favoring or visiting city under pain of excommunication and 25 *livres:* June 13, 1535, Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 146. This episcopal excommunication preceded by two months the prohibition of the mass by Geneva.

[2] *Mém. et Doc. pub. by l'Académie Salésienne*, Tome XIV (Annecy, 1891, "Permis d'imprimer, 8 Oct. 1890, ✠ Louis, Évêque d'Annecy"), pp. 175–176. On this point, there is substantial agreement between Catholic and Protestant historians; compare the nun, Jeanne de Jussie, *Le Levain de Calvinisme, etc.*, and Kampschulte (*Calvin, etc.*, I, 90–91, 169–170) with the accounts in Bonivard, *Chron.*, I, 90, and the extracts from records in appendix to Revilliod's edition of Fromment, *Actes et Gestes, etc.*, esp. pp. ci-cv.

[3] Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs, etc.*, II, 421–426; June 24 and July 8, 1532.

loyal to the Catholic faith,[1] might forbid preaching unauthorized by the vicar, or "any innovations," and expel preachers; might even vote that "in this matter ('the holy sacraments of the church') each one shall be left in liberty according to his conscience," [2] but when Geneva had seen her prince-bishop abandon his post, excommunicate her citizens and send soldiers against them, she naturally denied his spiritual as well as his temporal authority.[3] When the choice was forced upon her by her two opposing allies and

[1] Herminjard, *Corr. d. Ref.*, II, 382. Letter and embassy of Geneva to Freiburg July 6, 1532. They disclaim any intention to go over to "*Luthererie*" or the "*novam legem.*" It is curious to find the term "Calvinism" applied to Geneva before Calvin's arrival or the publication of his *Institutes*, by an ardent contemporary Catholic born in Geneva, Andrea Cordoino, "*Relatione di Genevra—particolarmente dall' anno 1535 che ni fù introdotto il Calvinismo*" (1624); Archives of Turin (Geneva, Paquet, 14ª, No. 7). Lutheran is the contemporary term of Jeanne de Jussie and of Catholics in Geneva and Freiburg.

[2] The series of votes is significant. June 30, 1532, the council voted: "Regarding him who preaches the gospel, ordered that for the present the master of the schools (*magister scholarum*) cease reading the gospels and that the vicar (*dominus vicarius*) be requested to order that in all the parishes and convents they preach the gospel and epistle (*epistolam*) of God according to truth, without mingling with it any fables or other human inventions; and that we live in harmony as our fathers have done without any inventions." Herminjard, *Corr. de Ref.*, II, 425, n. 2. Jan. 2, 1533, after Fromment's attack on Catholicism and declaration that he "would obey God rather than man," the council of two hundred voted: that no one should preach in public or private without the permissions of the syndics and vicar, the syndics to arrest if the vicar neglects his duty. They also voted "because many demanded the word of God" that a preacher who was a Catholic but held evangelical views should preach until Lent. (Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 36; Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 122–123.) Mar. 30, 1533 (after letters from Bern urging protection of gospel, Mar. 25, and a street fight between Catholics and Lutherans, Mar. 28), the council of two hundred proclaimed a truce on following conditions: (1) general amnesty; (2) "live in good peace and union with observation of the commandments of God, and as we have lived in the past, without introducing innovations in word or deed, until it be generally ordered to live otherwise"; (3) "no one shall be so presumptuous or hardy as to speak against the holy sacraments of the church but in this matter each one shall be left in his liberty according to his conscience without reproaching one another, be he ecclesiastic or laic, whatever the subject be"; (4) preaching only by license of the "Superior and Messieurs the Syndics and Council"—and the preacher shall say nothing which is not proved by "the Holy Scripture"; (5) no one to eat meat Friday or Saturday or do anything to "scandalize"; (6) no partizan songs touching faith and law; (7) oath to obey regulations under penalty of fine, with added imprisonment and banishment for repeated offenses; (8) no renewal of quarrels; (9) wives and children were to be notified and hostages were exchanged.—*Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVI, fol. 52 (it is in French though *Registres* were in Latin then). Quoted in Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 62–63, and in extracts in appendix to Revilliod's ed. Fromment, *Actes et Gestes*, pp. xxi–xxii. But a month later (May 4) in an armed conflict, a syndic was wounded and a canon (Werly) killed (Kampschulte, I, 130–134).

[3] See above, p. 7 and note 2.

by the parties fighting within the city, Geneva declared against bishop and papal abuses and in favor of Bern and the "Word of God," two authorities which could be appealed to against both ecclesiastical domination and corruption.[1]

The decision forced upon the councils by the riotous image-breaking, in August, 1535, was negative rather than positive, a cautious temporary abolition of the mass without "innova-

[1] The following summary will suggest the way in which Geneva was forced to take sides with the strongest: Freiburg threatened rupture of the treaty of 1526 if Geneva abandoned the old faith and law; to this Claude Salomon (and others) replied Jan. 8, 1534, "he would live according to the Gospel and the Word of God and not the will of man" ("*ad votum evangelicum et juxta verbum dominicum non ad dictum hominum*"), *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVI, fol. 182v°. (Salomon was important enough to be appointed the first hospitaller, Nov. 14, 1535; Roget, II, 191.) After Geneva's denial of bishop's right of pardon (Aug., 1533, and Feb. and Mar., 1534), and Farel's seizure of a church and preaching therein the "new law," Mar. 1, 1534, Freiburg broke the alliance May 15, 1534. Bern had sent Farel with letters Oct., 1532; sent ambassadors with him Dec., 1533, and then, and in Feb., 1534, demanded permission for gospel to be preached and complained of insults to herself and her religion by Catholics. Bern met Freiburg's threat of breaking alliance with a similar threat, supported by the powerful argument of a demand for 9,900 *écus*, due for war expenses in defense of Geneva. Under pressure of Bern, council declared (22 Feb., 1534) it could neither grant pulpit nor hinder, "so let them do as they find best." (Roget, II, 99.) Farel preached publicly in seized church Mar. 1, and baptized and married in Apr., 1534. (See Jeanne de Jussie, p. 90.) Images were broken May 23, and thereafter, and the council declared such images should be destroyed according to the law of God, although it punished the unauthorized act of private persons (26th July). The little council declared "The sole power was the Word of Christ and the sword which he has committed to the powers" (July 24). The bishop waged open war on Geneva (July 30, Roget, II, 155; Kampschulte, I, 154); the council voted, Oct. 1, 1534, the episcopal see must be considered vacant. 1535 a dispute was held by order of the council between the Reformers and two priests, who went over to Protestantism (June). The bishop forbade any communication with Geneva (June); Farel seized church of Madeleine July 23d; and July 30th he replied to council that he "must obey God rather than man," and asked for a session of council of sixty or two hundred. The council refused council and replied to "said Farel and his associates that they should henceforth content themselves with preaching in the Convent de Rive and church of St. Germain, *on account of certain good and respectable persons* who urge this upon us" ("*propter certos bonos Respectabiles nos ad hec monentes*"). *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 98, 30 July 1535. This is an evidence of the presence and characteristic influence of the conservative element in Geneva. Haller in a letter to Bucer, Sept. 22, 1534, had estimated that two-thirds of Geneva were favorable to pontiff and duke. (Herminjard, *Corr. de Ref.*, III, 209.) Malbuisson was beheaded for making common cause with enemies of city, and a servant executed on charge of attempted poisoning of the reformer Viret (July). Aug. 8, Farel seized and preached in St. Peter's, riotous scenes of image-breaking followed next day, and Aug. 10 council of two hundred temporarily suspended the mass. (*Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 104). For other points in this note without specific references, see the impartial annals (based on the *Registres du Conseil*) in Roget, *Suisses et Genève*, II, 27, 76, 81 ff., 103, 107–110, 125, 154, 160; also Gautier, *Hist. Gen.*, II, 407, 412. The citations of Roget have been constantly verified and, save for dates, found almost invariably trustworthy.

tions" or adoption of the reformed faith or worship, but with striking deference to the wishes of Bern. After an appeal by Farel formally to abolish the papal system, the "grand council" of two hundred by a majority vote, and after long discussion, decided: (1) that the priests be called to see if they could justify the use of images and mass; (2) that the destruction of images cease and those pulled down be restored; (3) "in the interim . . . mass should not be celebrated until further notice;" (4) "and that the foregoing be written to the Lords of Bern that upon their response we may proceed more safely." [1] The monks when summoned to justify images and mass said "they were simple men who had lived according to tradition and had never investigated such questions"; and the secular clergy, in accordance with the bishop's prohibition, refused all discussion.[2] The next day, in the little council, "discussion was held as to finding means to set affairs in good order, especially in the matter of the mass, which many ask to have permitted. Whereupon many say that for the present it is better to postpone the matter a little, than to make haste regarding the said mass, since it would be far better to await the will of the Lords of Bern who understand the matter more fully.[3] Wherefore it was decided that for the present it be given up for a little; and that measures be taken to assemble the *consilium ordinarium*, and mature action be taken in the matter, since it seems better for the present to suspend the saying of the mass than to say mass, whence scandal might arise." To Peter Lullin, who requested "that it might be permitted to say mass, as heretofore in this city mass was said, because there are many who wish to have the mass," the council gave a similar temporizing reply, Sept. 2: "As to this, it was decided that news

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 104, 10th Aug., 1535. *Interim vero ulterius non dirruatur nec celebratur missa donec cognitio et quod scribantur dominis bernatibus praemissa ut super eorum Responsionem nos tutius conducere valeamus.*

[2] *Registres du Conseil*, 12 Aug., 1535, quoted in Kampschulte, I, 167–168.

[3] *Cum forte melius sit expectare voluntatem dominorum Bernatium qui sanius Rem intelligunt. Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 108v°, Friday, Aug. 13, 1535. Only 12 names out of the full number of 25 are recorded as present.

be awaited from the Lords of Bern that it may be seen in what way it is better to proceed." [1]

The acts and the manner of procedure of the magistrates and councils from August, 1533, to August, 1535, in denying the authority of the bishop and avoiding the Scylla and Charybdis of both mass and image-breaking, are clearly the expression of a political policy, and not of a profound religious conviction. It is the policy of independence, of safeguarding of rights. The council gradually yielded to the strongest and most logical combination against bishop and duke,—Bern and the determined and aggressive party of reform and independence. The Puritan spirit of unflinching enforcement of the word of God was quite absent from the state, which was not yet even formally Protestant in 1535. But though the state, acting through its semi-representative councils, was concerned rather with self-preservation and public order than with religious reform, there was a considerable party with vigorous leaders like Farel and Porral, who had convictions and intended to accept no half-way measures. [2]

The Vicar-General and the few remaining canons, and the Sisters of St. Clara and many of the monks and parish clergy recognized that the papal system was doomed and left the city soon after the mass was abolished.[3]

The two councils at once assumed the lapsed civil functions of the bishop and chapter. The council of two hundred, the same day that it suspended the mass, took action to re-

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 120.

[2] Evidence of this is naturally found rather in the correspondence of the reformers than in the acts of the council; but it is also shown by the successes of Farel in the successive seizures of churches and triumph over the orders of the little council and in the image breaking. But Protestants were probably still in the minority in August, 1535.

[3] The nun Jeanne de Jussie's account (*Le Levain de Calvinisme*) of the departure of the sisters (Aug. 29, 1535) is written clearly and vigorously, and throws much light on the condition of affairs, frankly admitting abuses in the church. Many of the canons had withdrawn before. On the condition, especially of the cathedral clergy, see articles on history of the chapter by a member of the present Catholic chapter at Annecy in *Mém. et Doc. pub. p. l'Acad. Salésienne*, XIV. See above, p. 8, note 2.

tain possession of ecclesiastical property, which it feared the clergy might take away.[1] The two hundred established a hospital endowed with the property of churches and monasteries, and the primary assembly approved the administrative measures taken by the little council, elected a hospitaller, prohibited begging, and ordered special watchmen to compel beggars to go to the hospital.[2] The consolidation of the two prisons was ordered; and the two councils assumed the episcopal privilege of coining money, establishing a mint, appointing its officers and criticizing the money struck.[3]

In 1536, the councils undertook wider functions, the civil and religious reorganization of territory lying outside the city and formerly subject to the ecclesiastical or ducal authorities. The *mandements* of Thiez and Gaillard offered fidelity to Geneva, if no changes were made in the customs or the church (Feb. 11). The introduction of the reformation into the outlying and newly subject villages was taken in hand by the council under pressure from Farel. The council provided preachers and church bells, and ordered proclamations like those in the city, concerning obedience, adultery and blasphemy.[4] The *procureurs* and priests of the rural communities were exhorted by Farel, and given by the council a month to read the gospels and decide whether the evangelical doctrine of Geneva was the true doctrine. The *procureurs* were commanded to order all parishioners to go to sermon, and the mass was forbidden by the council.[5] The council even went so far in its assumption of ecclesiastical powers as to reassure excommunicated parishioners that it

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 104, Aug. 10, 1535. To make an inventory of "Jura et Jocalia" and "omnia bona ecclesiarum" two syndics were appointed for St. Peter's, and the little council was directed to appoint men for the other churches.

[2] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 152–153, quoted in Gautier, *Hist. Gen.*, II, 465, and Roget, II, 191. 29 Sept., 5 Oct., and 14 Nov., 1535.

[3] Nov. 24, etc., 1535; Roget, II, 190.

[4] Mar. 10, 1536. Mar. 24, bell to Satigny and preacher there and to "*Cillignies*"; for acts on these and later dates, see the valuable extracts from the *Registres du Conseil* and other documents, in the "Annales" contained in the standard Baum, Cunitz and Reuss edition of *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 197–198.

[5] *Registres du Conseil*, 3 Apr., 1535, in *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 198.

held them absolved.[1] The organization of justice was provided for in a vote of the two hundred ordering the new subjects to choose in each *châtelerie* a *lieutenant du châtelain* and *auditeurs* to hear causes and to conduct the *procès* in the common tongue.[2] Evidently the two councils, the "government," regarded themselves in general as the heirs of the powers of bishop and *vidomne*, subject to the *franchises* and the ultimate decision of the primary assembly.[3] But the civil and ecclesiastical government of the new possessions they proposed to administer as the lords (*seigneurie*) of the land, unbound by the *franchises*, and without seeking the sanction of the primary assembly or establishing democratic institutions or local self-government. The dependent villages were administered by six *châtelains* chosen from the members of the little council.[4]

But these new possessions caused bloody conflicts of parties within the city, and years of strife between Geneva and

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, 4 Apr., 1536, in Herminjard, *Corr. d. Ref.*, IV, 26. "Regarding the report by our *chastelain* of Thiez that the people of Thiez have doubts about presenting themselves in church at this next Easter (16 Apr.) because of some letters of excommunication which have been issued against some, for which they desire the relief of absolution . . . Resolved, that there be written a patent to the vicars of the said district (*mandement*) that we hold them for absolved."

[2] May 13, Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 233. The provision for use of common tongue follows the similar provision for the court of the *vidomne* or his lieutenant in the Genevan *franchises* of 1387, Art. I. French began to replace Latin in the *Registres du Conseil* Feb. 6, 1536, though a considerable number of records in Latin occur during the year.

[3] Additional proof of this increase of powers of the two councils and of a consequent aristocratic tendency in government (as councils were chosen by coöptation) will be found in actions of councils cited later. The very primary assembly that nullified the bishop's right of pardon also renewed and confirmed the fullest powers (*omnimoda potestas*) to the council of two hundred. Feb. 8, 1534. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXVI, fol. 210vo and 210bis.

[4] Gautier, II, 501. The new subjects were granted right to choose *lieutenant* and *auditeurs*, for the inferior court, but from this the final appeal came to the little council, the *seigneurie*. This oligarchic or aristocratic policy is carried out later, and laws are passed, officers and preachers appointed by the Genevan councils, in none of which did the outlying territory have representatives. Nor did the councils even refer decisions to the primary assembly of Geneva. See the interesting proclamations for the *mandement* of Jussie made by "Messieurs" (*i. e.*, the little council) and published by the "*chastelain*." J. Lambert, 22 Sept., 1539 (archives; Pièces Hist. No. 1221, printed in Turrettini et Grivel, *Archives de Genève*, pp. 235–238) "containing ordinances moral, civil and religious in 24 articles." See also the "ordinances as to the '*police*' of the churches depending on the Seigneurie of Geneva," Feb. 3, 1547, in *Calvini Opera*, X, 51 ff.; also acts of Feb. 18, 21, Apr. 4, 7, May 12, 13, 22, Mar. 21, Oct. 6, Dec. 19, 1544, *Calv. Op.*, XXI, under these dates.

Bern.[1] Feb. 5, 1536, the chiefs of the Bernese army which was then at Geneva, fighting once more against Savoy, asked the syndics for the old rights of the bishop and the functions of the *vidomne*. The protector desired to become the suzerain. At this the old mettlesome spirit of Geneva blazed out. The syndics promptly refused and were supported with ardor by the councils. "We have endured war against both the Duke of Savoy and the bishops, for seventeen to twenty years . . . not because we had the intention of making the city subject to any power, but because we wished the poor city which had so much warred and suffered to have its liberty" (*pour estre en liberté*), was the characteristic reply of the little council.[2] Bern was eventually obliged to yield to the stubborn determination of Geneva to be independent in the administration of the city and the newly acquired villages. August 7, 1536, by a treaty so vaguely formed as to lead to eight years of conflict, Bern acknowledged the right of Geneva to exercise the powers of bishop and duke, and to possess the lands formerly dependent on the bishop, the cathedral chapter, and the priory of St. Victor. Geneva had won independence from enemies and friends. It was not merely a city but an acknowledged, independent republic with nearly thirty dependent villages.[3]

[1] The *articulans* or *artichauds* of 1539–1540, and the executions and banishments of 1540. Cf. also the feeling toward the "quitters" (*Quitanciers*) who signed the treaty of 1544. (Feb. 15.)

[2] *Registres du Conseil*, XXIX, fol. 12. Compare Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 214–217 and Gautier, II, 496–498. Syndics Feb. 5; little council Feb. 15; two hundred Feb. 17, 1536. Roget, II, 215, is in error in assigning action of Feb. 15 to two hundred. It was in the after-dinner session of the little council (*conseil ordinaire*). See *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 12ro and cf. fol. 11ro.

[3] In 1544, preachers were sent to 26 villages. See list in *Genève Ecclésiastique, ou Livre des Spectables Pasteurs et Professeurs*, pp. 16–48 (1861). J. L. Mallet names 28 villages subject to Geneva in 1536; viz., 12 formerly subject to bishop in *mandements* of Jussy (to N. E.) and Peney (W.); 2 to "chapter"; 5 to Priory of St. Victor; 9 to *mandement* of Gaillard. (Duke of Savoy, S. E.) ("*Extraits fait par J. L. Mallet des Ext. d. Reg. par Flournois.*" MSS. in Bib. Publique de Genève. This extract made by Mallet from *Registres*.) "St. Victor and Chapter" is the phrase used to describe the lands later in dispute. Geneva, however, was obliged to agree: (1) to pay 10,000 *écus*, the balance due Bern for military defense; (2) to make no alliance without the consent of Bern; (3) to grant to Bern, Gaillard and dependencies, Convent Bellerive, Cholex and all territories lying outside the city, conquered by Bern, formerly belonging to Savoy or granted to church by Savoy. Bern agreed to extend

August 8, Geneva received the joyful news "that we are princes." [1]

By 1536, and before Calvin's arrival, the councils had also assumed the entire control of morals and religion which they had formerly shared with the ecclesiastical authorities. Even before the formal suspension of the mass, the council had at the exhortation of Farel prohibited the dances called *virolet*.[2] The proclamation passed by the two hundred Feb. 28, 1536, especially for the regulation of taverns—a very vital question after the suppression of the monasteries—was afterwards regarded as a sort of outline of police regulations of the state.[3] The printed placard prohibited:—blasphemy; profane oaths; playing at cards or dice; protection of adulterers, thieves, vagabonds and spendthrifts; excessive drinking; giving drink to anyone during sermon, and especially on Sunday (unless to strangers), or after nine in the evening; entertaining strangers more than one night without notification to captain or tithing men (*dizeniers*); selling bread or wine save at reasonable, established prices; and unauthorized holding of taverns.[4] The council forbade the observance

Geneva's boundaries in the direction of Gaillard and Gex. Gautier, II, 520, names 7 villages thus included. It was during this war that Chillon was captured by Bern and Geneva, May 29, 1536, and Bonivard released. The treaty (original with seals, and 2 copies) is in the Archives, *Pièces Hist.*, no. 1157; reprinted in Gautier's ed. Spon (*Hist. de Gen.*), "*Preuves*," no. 61 (1730).—(See also Roset, *Chroniques de Genève*, L. III, ch. 70; Gautier, *Hist. de Gen.*, II, 517–520; Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 237–238.)—It contains an ambiguous reservation by Bern (Art. IV, Pt. II) of "appeals (*appellations*) if any are found to have gone before the Duke and his council or his officers of justice."

[1] Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 238.

[2] Apr. 13, 1535. Roget, *Hist. du Peuple de Genève*, I, 5.

[3] *E. g.*, in vote of primary assembly, June 17, 1540, refusing increased penalties and declaring the proclamation of the last day of Feb., 1536, sufficient if enforced. (*Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXXIV, fol. 301; *Calv. Op.*, XXI, pp. 258–259.)

[4] The vote in the *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 33, differs slightly from the printed broadside (20 x 30 cm.): Archives, *Portfolio de Pièces Historiques*, No. 1161: "Ce que les Hostes ou hostesses obseruerôt et feront obseruer che eulx sur la peyne contenue en la Crie faicte le dernier Iour de Feburier, Lan Mil cccccxxxvi." The *vote* in the *Registres* begins with the prohibition of unauthorized keeping of tavern, and does not contain specific prohibition of protection of adulterers and thieves and spendthrifts (simply "estrangiers ny gens vagabundes"), or of excessive drinking. This "edited" revision, in putting the prohibition of blasphemy, etc., first, and adding the above prohibitions, emphasizes the moral features of the law. The penalties for lodging "strangers or vagabonds" without notification were 5 *sols* and loss of bread and wine for first offense, 60 *sols* for second, and ten florins and loss of right of keeping tavern for third offense.

of any holiday (*festa*) save Sunday;[1] ordered all inhabitants to attend sermon, quoting the fourth commandment and laying down a penalty of three *sols*;[2] forbade brides to come to weddings with head uncovered, on the complaint of a preacher that it was contrary to "the holy scripture";[3] forbade private persons to baptize or perform the marriage ceremony and punished several offenders.[4] The tithing men (*dizeniers*) were ordered to forbid anyone's hearing mass or performing papal sacrament "as contrary to the ordinance of God" [5] within or without the city; and those who did so were to be considered enemies.[6] Several priests who said the mass contrary to the order were released from prison only under the provisos that they should "confess their misdeed before everyone at the Sunday sermon"; "that their property should be returned to them, save their arms, and from thenceforth they should live according to God (*selon dieu*)." [7] But a priest, who confessed he had celebrated mass several times after swearing not to, asked pardon in vain and was ordered to prison.[8] "Girardin de la Rive, having had his infant baptized at Ternier by a priest, was condemned by reason of the offense which he had made against God and the proclamations to be banished to the place where he de-

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 15. June 13, 1536.

[2] *Ibid.*, fol. 15vo, June 16. (Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 235.)

[3] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 92; 28 Apr., 1536. In *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 200. The complaint was made by the preacher "Cristoffle" (Libertet), who refused to marry "save as the holy scripture prescribes." This interpretation of scripture was reversed after Calvin's exile. *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 227, Apr. 26, 1538.

[4] Six cases are recorded in the month of Feb., 1536. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 26, 23 Feb., 1536:—two marriages; also one baptism by an uncle, a pastry cook; another by a midwife (*ostetrice*); voted to summon and punish the baptizers. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 31, Feb. 25, parents confer baptism, "not thinking to do harm"; no punishment recorded. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 32, 26 Feb., a "*Dom(inus)*" under detention "swore not to baptize, marry or perform other sacrament without commandment of 'Messrs. the syndics and council.'"

[5] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fols. 61, 65, quoted in *Calvini Opera*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197–198, Mar. 24, Apr. 3, 1536.

[6] Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 22, Mar. 24, 1536.

[7] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fols. 105, 107, May 12, 16, 1536.

[8] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 27, July 13, 1536, quoted in *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 202.

sires to do such things." [1] "Blue laws," or interfering regulations concerning religion and morals were not an invention of Calvin nor of the Puritan state. They were rather the *sequelae* of the Middle Ages. They are the attempts of the new Protestant state to take over the personal supervision exercised by the medieval church, state and gild.[2]

There was no tolerance even for such a patriotic and broad-minded Catholic as the former syndic Jean Balard, who, when asked by the council (at the instigation of Farel) why he refused to hear the word of God, "replied he believes in God who teaches by his own spirit but he cannot believe our preachers. He said we cannot compel him to go to sermon against his conscience . . . since we said ourselves at the beginning of these affairs that no one could dominate our conscience." [3] His interesting creed which he then repeated still exists in his own hand, on a scrap of paper, sewn with a faded red thread to the records of that day. "I desire to live according to God's gospel, but I do not wish to follow

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 16, 17th June, 1536. For some reason the stern logic of this vote was not carried out, and de la Rive appears, in 1536–1537, among the "opposition" to the clerical party.

[2] In Geneva, such legislation antedated not only Calvin but the Reformation: 9 Jan., 1481, disguising or making *charivari*; 3 Jan., 1492, dances or other amusements with instruments without permission of justice; Aug. 11, 1506, playing in streets at dice, bowls, cards (proclamation by permission of vicar); Feb. 23, 1515, playing "*au brelaud*"; 19 Apr., 1524, "*epouse de May*" and public dances; Aug. 7, 1526, "*chansons déshonnêtes et satiriques*" (penalty of imprisonment)—were all prohibited by little council (*consilium ordinarium*). (See "Extraits d. Edit. Reg. et Wages, 1309–1722," in *Archives* of Geneva, pp. 18, 28, 31, 35, 36.) May 27, 1524, *ibid.*, p. 35, "Those without profession or not exercising them to leave the city and suburbs in three days"; Mar. 14, 1430, "no one to play before celebration of mass"; Item,—"no one to play *ad cisionem panis*," *Reg. du Conseil*, ed. Rivoire, I, 133. Nov. 30, 1490, no playing in public places during divine service and no *ludos communes* in houses; Mar. 5, 1530, no blasphemy of name of God and His glorious mother, no playing in streets or public places at cards or bowls during sermon and divine service (no pardon). (Roget, *Hist. d. Peuple de Gen.*, I, 6.) The proclamation against cards, bowls and dice occurs again in 1507–1508 (*Reg. du Conseil*, XV). The frequent prohibitions of these numerous favorite amusements (eleven) cited above, suggests the pleasure-loving quality of the Genevans. They occasioned much legislation during the Reformation. Prices of wine were regularly settled in November meeting of *conseil général* and occasionally at other times, and regulations regarding food and hours of sales were often passed. See *Registres du Conseil*, Rivoire, I, 74, 117, 120, 268, 396. For such legislation elsewhere, see J. M. Vincent, "European Blue Laws," in *Ann. Rep. Amer. Hist. Assn.*, 1897, 356–372.

[3] An allusion probably to the vote of Mar. 30, 1533; see above, p. 9, n. 2, art. 3 of this vote.

it according to the interpretation of any private persons, but according to the interpretation of the Holy Spirit through the holy church universal in which I believe. Balard." [1] "Asked to say whether he is not willing to go to sermon, he replies that his conscience does not allow him to go there, and he does not wish to do anything contrary to that, for this reason,—because he is taught by a higher power than such preachers. Having heard all this it was ordered that if he did not obey the proclamations and go to the sermons, he must leave the city within the next ten days." The council voted three weeks later, "that if John Balard refused to go to hear the sermon he should be imprisoned and every day conducted to sermon; and that the like be done in case of all others";[2] it recorded further complaints against him and five others, September 4.[3] Although in his patriotic desire that his "body be united with the body of the city as a loyal citizen should be," [4] Balard evidently yielded later and held important offices, he was in 1539 again ordered to leave the city in ten days for refusing to say the mass was bad. He gave the quaint and pathetic reply "that he is unable to judge but that since it is the will of the Little and Grand Council that he should say the mass is bad he says

[1] "*Je veulx viure selon levangille et ne veulx pas vser selon linterpretacion daucuns p̃ticuliers Mais selon linterp̃tacion du saint esperit par la saincte eglise vniuerselle en qui Je croye.* —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— —— Balard."—This is a *verbatim et literatim et punctuatuatim* copy, from the *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 32, July 24, 1536. It is to be wished that the secretaries had written as good French and as clear a hand. The records for this session, *e. g.*, are partly in bad Latin, partly in bad French. The Registers of the council have no punctuation or accentuation, and no system of capitalization whatever. The editors of the *Calvini Opera* (Baum, Cunitz, Reuss) change the capitalization, and add punctuation; Herminjard (*Corr. d. Réf.*), Rilliet et Dufour (*Premier Cathéchisme*), the editors of Gautier (*Hist. de Gen.*), and M. Dufour-Vernes, the present archivist of Geneva, add also accents. All write out the constant abbreviations.

[2] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 40, August 15, 1536. Reaffirmed by council of sixty, next day.

[3] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 53. P. Lullin, J. Philippe, J. Balard, Cl. Richardet, J. Malbuisson, B. Offischer. The first four of these failed of re-election to the council in following year. But Richardet and Philippe were leaders of the "opposition," and were elected syndics and aided the exile of Calvin and Farel, 1538. Richardet pled for tolerance Sept. 4, 1536; and two months later was elected *lieutenant de justice.*

[4] Dec. 22, 1539. See note 1, p. 20.

the mass is bad and that he is worse to judge boldly of that of which he is ignorant and he cries to God for mercy and renounces Satan and all his works." Not content even with this, the council finally wrested from him its required "affirmative or negative answer," "The mass is bad." [1]

It is a sadly significant picture—an honored and sane magistrate and not a fanatic, nobly pleading for broad tolerance and freedom of conscience, but compelled to submit his religious convictions to the apparent political necessities of his day. As patriotic as he was tolerant, the statesman sacrificed his theology to his patriotism and remained to serve his state.[2] The story of Balard, instructive in itself, is still more significant because of its date. The first inquisition, in July, 1536, occurred before Calvin settled in Geneva, the final one, in 1539, during Calvin's exile when his anti-clerical opponents were in power. Calvin found Geneva and Europe intolerant; he did not make them so.

The councils, though exercising full power in religion and morals, consulted the "preachers." They sought and heeded the latter's advice regarding such matters as brides' head dress;[3] marriage causes "necessitating consultation of the Scriptures";[4] introduction of the reform into the new pos-

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXXIII, fols. 400v°, 401–402, Dec. 22–24, 1539. Parts of the process are to be found in *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 203. The account, with extracts, is correctly given in Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 243–246, and Roget, *Hist. du Peuple de Gen.*, I, 158–160. The passages are reprinted from *Registres* in J. J. Chaponnière's introd. to *Journal du Syndic Jean Balard*, pp. lxvii–lxviii, lxxiv–lxxv. (*Mém. et Doc. de Soc. d'Hist. de Gen.*, X (1854).) Gautier, *Hist. Gen.*, III, 54, seems to have failed to note the council's relentless insistence, and the final reply of Balard, and is therefore led into error of attributing tolerance to the council. (See *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXXIII, fol. 402v°; "*Puys appres az confesse laz messe estre mauvayse*," Dec. 24; and reaffirmation Dec. 26, before two hundred.)

[2] J. Balard, the author of a valuable *Journal* (1525–1531), had been syndic in 1525–1530 (*Jour. de Balard*, ed. Chaponnière, pp. xiv–xxxv, *Mém. et Doc. Soc. d'Hist. d. Gen.*, Vol. X). He was afterwards in little council in 1531–1536, and 1539; frequently in two hundred; regularly in sixty, from 1546. The day of Calvin's return from exile (13 Sept. 1541), Balard was made one of six councillors to "confer" with "preachers" and draw up the *ordonnances ecclésiastiques*, replacing Goulaz of dubious reputation.

[3] See above, p. 17, note 3.

[4] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 113, May 23, 1536. "Mariage . . . pource que cest chose presante un besoigne entendre les escriptures, est arreste que lon demande les predicans en conseil pour veoir sur ce affaire leur opinion."

sessions; summons of Balard; and improvement of faith, education and morals.[1] They also voted to "feed, clothe and support" the preachers upon the property of the parishes "both of the city and of our land." [2]

The increased judicial functions of the little council, as the supreme court, after the abolition of the bishop's jurisdiction in 1534, gives further evidence of the wide range of powers which were concentrating in a small body. In this council of twenty-five men, only five were ever chosen in any one year by the people, and sixteen were elected by a council of their own nominees, the two hundred. The court records indicate that the conditions of the introduction of the Reformation in 1535–1536—the cessation of the old system of religious authority, and the sudden plunge of monks and priests out of religious establishments into a new social order—threatened Geneva within with a difficult social problem, at the time when she was fighting outside with weapons and diplomacy to solve her political problem.[3]

For the formal adoption of the religious reform, the action of the primary assembly, the *conseil général*, was regarded as necessary. May 19, 1536, Farel exhorted the council upon the coldness of the people's faith, the need of setting schools in order, and the presence of dissoluteness, "mummeries," songs, dances and blasphemy. The little council re-

[1] See above, p. 13, note 4; p. 17, note 5; below, p. 22, and note 1.

[2] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 103, May 10, 1536.

[3] Sixteen criminal trials are recorded for the year 1535, and six for the year 1536, in the "Procès Criminel et Informations," but these are only the graver cases. The little council frequently dealt with cases in their ordinary sessions recorded in the *Registres* but not in the *Procès*. The *Registres* also record general conditions (*e. g.*, songs sung by bad women, Sept. 5), and proclamations (prohibition of vain songs and fornication, Sept. 8, 1536). In 1536 an adulterer was put three days in the dungeon ("crotton"), while the adulteress was banished (Roget, *S. et G.*, II, p. 235). The *lieutenant de justice* himself, Jean Curtet, the judicial officer of the state, was convicted of fornication, imprisoned three days on bread and water, degraded from office and compelled to seek pardon of the two hundred. He was six months later elected first syndic, Feb. 4, 1537, contrary to law (*Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXX, fol. 164vo. Cf. Gautier, *Hist. Gen.*, II, 526). The complaints of Farel before the council (May 19 and Sept. 8), the accounts of Fromment, though probably exaggerated, Fromment's own life and descriptions, the conduct of such leading men as Curtet, Goulaz, Bonivard, suggest a considerable, though not surprising, amount of dissoluteness and vice. Cf. Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 206–207; Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 271,

plied by advising the two hundred of the need of a *conseil général*. The two hundred called this primary assembly for Sunday.[1] The taking of the solemn oath "to live according to the Gospel and the Word of God," "sworn before God" alone by the whole body of citizens with uplifted hands, is a striking scene, significant in the history of democracy and religious liberty.

Sunday, May 21, 1536.

The *Conseil Général* in the cloister [of St. Peter's].

According to the resolution of the Little Council (*conseil ordinaire*), the *Conseil Général* was assembled by customary sound of bell and trumpet. And by the voice of M^r. Claude Savoy, first syndic, were proposed the resolutions of the *conseil ordinaire* and of the Council of Two Hundred, touching the manner of living . . . viz., to live according to the Gospel and the Word of God as has been since the abolition of the mass [Aug. 10, 13, 1535] and is now preached always among us; without further desire or wish for masses, images, idols or other papal abuses whatever. Whereupon, without any dissenting voice, it was generally voted, and with hands raised in air resolved and promised and sworn before God, that we all by the aid of God desire to live (*volons vivre*) in this holy evangelical law and Word of God, as it has been announced to us, desiring to abandon all masses, images, idols, and all that which may pertain thereto, to live in union and obedience to justice. . . . Also voted to try to secure a competent man for the school, with sufficient salary to enable him to maintain and

etc. The natural tendency of eulogists of Protestantism or the Calvinistic system has been to exaggerate the evil life in Geneva before Calvin's arrival. Such Genevans as the two Galiffes are partizans of the other sort. The number of cases recorded in the *Procès Criminel* may be given for what they are worth: 1535, 16; 1536, 6; 1537, 3; 1538, 4; 1539, 13; 1540, 21; 1541, 6; 1542, 5; 1543, 17; 1544, 2; and for the next ten years, 34, 18, 12, 4, 7, 5, 6, 10, 15, 20, respectively (1545–1554); with a remarkable increase for ten last years of Calvin's rule; viz., 43, 49, 88, 95, 87, 68, 54, 92, 76, 86 (1555–1564). This gives an average for the first decade of the reform (1535–1544) of 8.5; for the second (1545–1554) 12.4, and for the third decade (1555–1564) of 73.8 cases recorded in the *Procès Criminel* per year! This increase of over eight-fold might indicate either more crime or more rigid prosecution (probably the latter) in the third decade when the Calvinistic, Puritan conception had won its decisive victory. The number decreased strikingly in the time of Beza (1564–1605); viz., 43.5 for the first, 5.3 for the second, 5.2 for the third, and 6.4 for the fourth decade, if the records were accurately kept; no entries occur for 1574–1579, 1590–1594, 1596–1599.

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 112. The complaint as to morals is based on statement in Roset, *Chron. d. Gen.*, p. 262 (ed. 1894). Sunday had been and remained under Calvin the day for primary assembly.

teach (*nourrir et enseigner*) the poor free; and that every one be bound to send his children to the school and have them learn; and all pupils and teachers (*escolliers et aussi pedagoges*) be bound to go into residence (*aller faire la residence*) at the great school where the Rector and his Bachelors shall be.[1]

Taken in the order of their historic development (1528–1536), there are four principles in the Genevan Protestant state:

1. Obedience to the independent, civil government.
2. Rejection of "papal abuses."
3. Adoption of the "Word of God," "as preached," as the standard of life.
4. Establishment of universal, primary education, free to the poor.[2]

To transform this Protestant into a Puritan state, it was necessary to add:

1. Establishment of the Church as a distinct organism with co-ordinate and constitutional rights with the State (1541), thus limiting the latter's ecclesiastical power and preventing absorption of Church by State ("*caesaropapism*").
2. Definite organization of creed and religious training including catechism (1537); discipline and supervision of morals (1541); including substitution of new marriage laws for old canon law (1561).
3. Unflinching enforcement of the "Word of God" in all matters of daily life—moral and social, private and public, and upon all inhabitants (1555).
4. University education, to train for Church and State (1559).

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 112, Sunday, May 21, 1536. The vote has been frequently reprinted; *e. g.*, *Calvini Opera*, XXI, 202. The number of citizens in Geneva in 1536 capable of voting in *conseil général* is estimated by E. Mallet as 1,000 to 1,500 (*La Suisse Hist. et Pittor.* [Geneva, 1855–1856], II, 552). Saunier had been elected rector at a salary of 100 *écus* of gold, by the two hundred, May 19; see *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 112; *Calvini Opera*, XX, 201–202; and F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, I, 123.

[2] There was provision for both girls and boys in the vote of May 21, 1536. The girls were to be apart as before, and all boys were to come to the great school. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 112.

5. A different temper and fibre—conscientious, unyielding, unflinching, austere (1555).

By August, 1536, before she came under Calvin's influence, Geneva had won her independence against her enemies, duke and bishop, after nearly twenty years of warfare, and against the "salvage" claims of her ally Bern. In the process, the state, or more accurately its civil magistrates, had taken over the following large executive, legislative and judicial powers—military, diplomatic and religious: the trial and execution or pardon of criminals; declaration and conduct of offensive and defensive warfare; making and breaking of alliances; the conquest, and civil and religious administration of subject territory; coining money; acquisition of church property and diversion to new ends; regulation of religion—including certain articles of creed and worship, appointment of ministers and even pronouncing of absolution; regulation of private morals; and establishment of compulsory primary education. But it was rather the two councils than the commune itself that gained and exercised these powers. The primary assembly, it is true, had decided on alliances, and formally sanctioned the reformation and compulsory primary education. It also elected four syndics, a treasurer and secretary, and a lieutenant of justice with inferior jurisdiction. But all the other newly acquired powers enumerated above had been exercised by two councils which elected each other.[1] The primary assembly was rarely called,

[1] After 1530, the two hundred elected the little council; the little council then elected the two hundred, *i. e.*, 175 members besides themselves. These elections usually occurred respectively on the Monday and Tuesday following election of syndics, 1st Sunday in February. The four syndics of the previous year remained as members of the little council; the treasurer and four new syndics were elected by the primary assembly, leaving sixteen to be elected by the two hundred. As the council of sixty elected by the little council acted so very rarely, it has seemed much simpler to follow actual conditions and speak regularly of the two active councils (twenty-five and two hundred). The functions of the state (though not then distinguished) may be analyzed as follows: (1) Executive; syndics and little council. (2) Legislative, usually the little council (*ordinaire*); in difficult or important cases, the two hundred; elections of chief officers by primary assembly (*conseil général*). (3) The judicial arrangements were as follows in 1536: (*a*) Supreme court in criminal cases, syndics and little council (*conseil ordinaire*). But the two hundred possessed right of pardon and in extreme cases the court consisted of 16 members of two hundred in addition to little council. (*b*) Police and civil court of first instance (re-

and nearly all the executive and legislative steps in the progress of independence and reform had been taken by two bodies of magistrates, the little council of twenty-five, and the council of two hundred. Under normal circumstances, the members of both these bodies continued in office, save for malfeasance. Even the four syndics and other executive officers elected by the primary assembly were almost invariably chosen from the double list of nominees presented to it by the two hundred, which had in turn revised the nominations presented by the little council.[1]

Geneva, then, had developed independence and civil rights, but neither democracy nor directly representative government. She had taken steps in this direction, and in two vital civil and religious changes the people, the "commune," had acted in their sovereign capacity. But, on the other hand, there had been, in the fierce struggle for independence and order, a marked and continued tendency from the middle of the fifteenth century to concentrate power in the hands of a few men, conservative, responsible, and experienced.[2] It is an instructive experiment in a system of "mixed aristocracy" and democracy, the system advocated by Calvin after seven years' experience, and by John Win-

placing *vidomne* after Nov. 14, 1529), consisting of lieutenant of justice and four assistants (*auditeurs*) elected by *conseil général* (annually in November). The lieutenant was re-eligible only after three years. (Cf. Bonivard, *L'Anc. et Nouv. Pol.*, p. 29.) (*c*) *Procureur général* (1534), who intervened in all processes where public interest was at stake and was legal representative of minors and those under disabilities. See H. Fazy, *Constitutions de Genève*, p. 39; Bonivard, *L'Anc. et Nouv. Pol.*, 29; E. Mallet, *Coup d'Oeil, Hist. et Pitt.*, p. 552; Gautier, *H. d. G.*, II, 405, 546. See also *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fols. 1–4, Vol. XXVIII, fol. 209, Feb. 6, 1535, Vol. XXV, fol. 230, Feb. 8, 1534 (or Vol. XXVI, fol. 210v°); and other references to *Registres du Conseil* cited above.

[1] The assembly, however, possessed the right to elect its own choice in place of any or all nominees for syndic. Feb. 6, 1536, it exercised this right in electing Hemioz Levet. *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXIX, fol. 1.

[2] For fifteenth century see above, pp. 4–8 and notes. For later developments, see powers exercised by council referred to above, pp. 24–25. The danger is recognized by the *commune* and expressed in: the defeat of every caucus nominee by the *conseil général*, 1458; the provision of 1459 for reading franchises and hearing individual complaints; the *conseil général's* reassumption and assertion of taxing power, 1460; by intrigues to upset the two hundred (see *Reg. Con.*, vote Feb. 8, 1534, Vol. XXV, fol. 230); by provision against re-election of syndics before 3 yrs. (1518); and by revolutionary events of 1537–1540. In the list of magistrates and councils a strikingly small number of names occurs, but the same ones recur con-

throp in Massachusetts Bay, a century later.[1] It had its efficiency. But it also had its dangers. The latter were averted in Geneva in part by the mettlesome spirit of the "*commung peuple*," who asserted their somewhat tumultuous sovereignty in the stormy years, 1537–1541; and in part by the influence of the "preachers" and the church in the endeavor to maintain their rights and prevent the absorption of all power by the magistrates. It is noteworthy that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when both Calvin and Beza were gone, and there were no ministers strong enough to check the oligarchic tendency, the power of the magistrates and of the citizens with exclusive privileges, developed into a dangerous political and social aristocracy, which was attacked in the three revolutions of 1707, 1735–1738, and 1782, antedating the French Revolution of 1789.[2]

Several things, it is well to note, Geneva had *not* adopted before Calvin. She had not adopted democracy. She had distinctly repudiated the noble plea of honest and loyal Jean Balard for freedom of conscience. She had refused her inhabitants liberty in matters of worship even outside the city—saying to her old and honored families, conform or "go where you can do these things." [3] She had not adopted

stantly. *E. g.*, of the eleven unsuccessful candidates for syndics, treasurer, and secretary for the chamber of accounts, in the vote of *conseil général*, Feb. 6, 1541, all but two were consoled by positions in two councils. See *Registres du Conseil*, Vol. XXXV, fols. 52–56, Feb. 6, 7, 9, 1541. Compare also the lists of syndics, lieutenants and councillors in appendices to vols. of Roget, *Hist. d. Peuple d. Gen.*

[1] Calvin's *Institutes*, ed. 1543, ch. XX, sec. 7, *Calv. Op.*, I, 1105; Winthrop, *Arbitrary Government described and the Government of the Mass. vindicated from that Aspersion* (1644), in R. C. Winthrop, *Life of John Winthrop*, II, 440–458 [ed. 1869].

[2] For the comparatively unknown period of Beza, see the recent careful study from the sources, by Eugène Choisy, *L'État Chrétien Calviniste à Genève au Temps de Théodore de Bèze* (1902). To M. Choisy and to Professor Chas. Borgeaud of the University of Geneva I am indebted for suggestions on this later aristocratic development and on many other points. Professor Borgeaud has emphasized the democratic tendencies of the Reformation in his suggestive *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England* (1894), and his monumental *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, L'Académie de Calvin, 1559–1798 (Geneva, 1900). The long and strong aristocratic tendency *before* Calvin in Geneva has not, so far as I know, been made clear. Only with this perspective can Calvin's tendencies be rightly judged. For 18th century, see E. Mallet, *Coup d'Œil*, etc., II, 554–556.

[3] The language is that employed in the case of Girardin de la Rive, but the policy is characteristic; cf. action in case of Balard, and five others, Sept. 4, 1536. See above, p. 19, n. 4.

personal liberty, but had continued to pass restrictive legislation regulating prices, amusements, hair-dressing, hours and amount of drinking, attendance on sermons, non-observance of holidays.[1] The Genevan church as an organism cannot be said to have existed before Calvin. It had neither formal creed nor system of religious training. It had no rights of either property, discipline, revision of membership, or choice or dismission of pastors.[2]

The Genevan commonwealth of 1536 had won independence and abolished papal abuses, but had not established democracy or personal liberty, nor organized a new church. Her people had grown mettlesome and obstinate in defense of chartered rights and newer liberties, but they were even yet, "for the most part, thoughtless and devoted to their pleasures." Her institutions and popular temper were vigorous but still plastic. Neither institutions nor temper had yet produced any striking contribution to human development, but the institutions were adaptable and the people capable of remarkable development, under conviction and devotion to a definite programme or goal.[3]

[1] See above, pp. 16–18 and notes.

[2] "The external forms of worship, the public prayers, the place of the sermon, the rites of baptism and of the Holy Communion, the celebration of marriage must have been fixed after the rules laid down in a little publication drawn up no doubt by Farel and published in 1533 under the title, *La manière et fasson*," etc. (Rilliet et Dufour, *Premier Catéchisme de Calvin* (1537), p. xv.)

[3] There is no adequate exposition of the Genevan temper ("mentality," for lack of a better word) before the arrival of Calvin. It can best be understood from the deeds and from the contemporary writings of Bonivard, Fromment and his vigorous wife, Marie d'Enté (see her *Épistre très Utile*, 1539, extracts in Herminjard, *Corr. d. Ref.*, V, 302 ff.), Balard, Jeanne de Jussie, and from the things prohibited. Many of the criticisms of Genevan immorality before the Reformation overshoot the mark. No people utterly devoted to license could have so strenuously maintained their independence almost continually for centuries, and against such odds. Even the curious regulations of vice show not only its presence but a constant attempt to repress it. The Genevans, in fact, were not a simple, but a complex, cosmopolitan people. There was, at this crossing of the routes of trade, a mingling of French, German and Italian stock and characteristics; a large body of clergy of very dubious morality and force; and a still larger body of burghers, rather sounder and far more energetic and extremely independent, but keenly devoted to pleasure. It had the faults and follies of a medieval city and of a wealthy centre in all times and lands; and also the progressive power of an ambitous, self-governing and cosmopolitan community. At their worst, the early Genevans were noisy and riotous and revolutionary; fond of processions and "mummeries" (not always respectable or safe), of gambling, immorality and loose songs and dances; possibly not over-scrupulous at

In August, 1536, there settled in Geneva a young French theologian and jurist, then in his twenty-eighth year, possessed of the attributes needed by Geneva—unflinching moral conviction and a systematic programme. The next twenty-eight years, the second half of Calvin's life, were devoted to systematizing Genevan institutions and tempering her citizens.[1] The new generation of Genevese, bred on Calvin's catechism, disciplined by his consistory, and recruited by the exiles from other lands, was a new folk. Hardened by war, they were still more finely tempered by conviction and moral discipline. Their state was definitely organized and their institutions were crystallized into written codes. In 1564, within a year from the time when the Council of Trent had completed its programme of Catholicism, Calvin had finished his career and Geneva had become the living exemplar of the new fighting creed of Protestantism. Geneva and Calvin together accomplished what neither could have

a commercial or political bargain; and very self-assertive and obstinate. At their best, they were grave, shrewd, business-like statesmen, working slowly but surely, with keen knowledge of politics and human nature; with able leaders ready to devote time and money to public progress; and with a pretty intelligent, though less judicious, following. In diplomacy they were as deft, as keen at a bargain and as quick to take advantage of the weakness of competitors, as they were shrewd and adroit in business. They were thrifty, but knew how to spend well; quick-witted, and gifted in the art of party nicknames. Finally, they were passionately devoted to liberty, energetic, and capable of prolonged self-sacrifice to attain and retain what they were convinced were their rights. On the borders of Switzerland, France, Germany and Italy, they belonged in temper to none of these lands; out of their Savoyard traits, their wars, reforms and new-comers, in time they created a distinct type, the Genevese. This perhaps bold attempt of one from another continent to suggest the two sides of this very complex but very human and interesting folk may be concluded with a quotation from a Genevan representing many of the above somewhat contradictory characteristics: "One might kill them rather than make them consent to that from which they had once dissented. . . . Otherwise, they were for the most part thoughtless (*sans soucy*) and devoted to their pleasures; but the war, necessarily, the reformation of religion, voluntarily, withdrew them therefrom. . . . Many pleasant buildings (which) were destroyed, both to ensure the city from its enemies and to remove papal superstitions; in such wise that its beauty has been lessened to augment its force." The value of this frank characterization is not lessened by the fact that Calvin and Geneva found Bonivard's *Chronicle* too rude to publish. Bonivard, *Chroniques de Genève*, Revilliod's ed. (Gen., 1867), p. 35. Cf. the unknown author quoted by Roget, *S. et G.*, II, 121, "I did not prefer beauty to honesty,—I ruined my beauty to save my honor and instead of Geneva the beautiful became Geneva the valiant" (*e pulchra fortis facta Geneva vocor*).

[1] Even during the three years of exile (1538–1541), Calvin devoted much time to Genevan conditions and the larger relations which involved Geneva.

done alone; they produced a new force in the world. The little Protestant state, reorganized on the basis of Calvin's ideas, became a Biblical commonwealth, ruthlessly conscientious, intellectual, independent, business-like and successful—in a word, a Puritan state.

CALVIN'S PROGRAMME FOR A PURITAN STATE IN GENEVA, 1536–1541 [1]

IN 1559, the little republic of Geneva was menaced by its former viceroy, the Catholic Duke of Savoy, who had been restored to his hereditary domains by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and had begun to take steps to recover the rights which he claimed over Geneva. The Duke's ambassador gave fair words, but a Genevan councillor declined his offer in this Puritan response, "For the sovereignty of God and the Word of God we will hazard our lives." The council promptly voted "to recommend themselves to God and to keep good watch." [2] The response of the councillor and the vote of the council reveal the characteristics bred by twenty-three years of Calvin's programme for a Puritan state in Geneva. A sense of a moral obligation to "hazard life for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God," a quiet trust in God, intelligent preparations for a vigorous defence of God-given liberties through practical human means—these are characteristics of the Puritan. Where he was able to organize the state on these principles, he built up a series of Biblical commonwealths, or Puritan states, Geneva under Calvin and Beza, Scotland under Knox and Melville, the England of Cromwell and Milton, and the Puritan colonies of New England.

The Puritan state was not confined to one people, speech, or region. It won its first triumph among the cosmopolitan population of Geneva, and recruited itself there through exiles for conscience' sake from all lands. It dominated for a time the national life of England and Scotland. Successfully transplanted across the Atlantic, the Puritan state exercised an even more comprehensive and permanent con-

[1] Reprinted from *Harvard Theological Review*, October, 1908.
[2] A. Roget, *Histoire du peuple de Genève*, VI, 2–3 (Geneva, 6 vols., 1870–1881).

trol over a great part of the American colonies. Most, if not all, of its essential characteristics found expression in Holland. France extruded her Puritan stock, but it was a Frenchman who made Puritanism possible in other lands; and the exiled Huguenots impregnated still further with Puritanism those states that ultimately triumphed over France. In all these countries a certain kind of people had their innate moral earnestness moulded by a Hebrew hunger and thirst for righteousness and a French love for logical completeness into a new type, the Puritan. This kind of people thus moulded was able to dominate the national life in Geneva, England, Scotland, and New England, and so to found a new type of state. This Puritan state can be best understood, first, by a historical study of its development in each land, and, second, by a comparative study of the common characteristics and the individual peculiarities of the various states. Any comprehensive definition of the Puritan state should follow such a historical and comparative study. A general idea of the new type of state may be suggested through the figure already used. The Puritan state of Geneva or Massachusetts Bay differed from the ordinary Protestant state as the moulded and tempered steel differs from the iron which went into the blasting furnace. The iron is the basis of the steel, but it has received new ingredients and a new temper, and has been moulded into a different shape. Or, again, the Puritan state differs from the Protestant state somewhat as the Jesuit differs from the ordinary Roman Catholic. The Puritan and the Jesuit are examples of a faith carried to its logical limit with marvellous loyalty and enthusiasm; each is the epitome of a church militant acting on the offensive rather than waiting to act on the defensive.

The earliest programme for a Puritan state is to be found in the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, completed by John Calvin in 1535 and printed at Basel in 1536. Within the next five years the essentials of the *Institutes* were restated in four other documents adopted by the

Genevan state; and in 1552 the *Institutes* were declared by the Genevan council "to be well and truly made, and their doctrine to be the holy doctrine of God." [1] In these five documents, from 1536 to 1541, the formative programme of the first Puritan state may be historically traced.

The first edition of Calvin's *Institutes* was a little handbook of 514 pages of small octavo, which could be slipped into the pocket. It was written and printed at a time when Francis I had decided on the policy of forcible repression of the "Lutherans" within the kingdom of France. "The occasion of my publishing the *Institutes*," wrote Calvin, twenty years later, "was this: first, that I might wipe off a foul affront from my brethren, whose death was precious in the sight of the Lord; and, secondly, that, as the same sufferings were impending over many others, at least some interest and sympathy for them might be excited in foreign nations." [2] It was at once an *apologia*, a confession of faith, a handbook of theology, and a programme. It contained the premises, though not all the conclusions, of the later editions. All the later editions are less simple, more controversial in their theology, and less winning than the first, and they omit some of its gentler portions. The first edition is divided into six chapters, on the Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the two true and the five false sacraments, with a final chapter "on Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power, and civil government." The striking enlargements in the later editions are in the treatment of such topics as the knowledge of God, the fall of man, predestination, the officers and discipline of the church, and

[1] *Registres du Conseil*, 9 Nov. 1552, fol. 301; quoted by Choisy, *La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin*—a luminous discussion of the subject, based on careful study of the documents. The standard edition of Calvin's Works (cited throughout this article as *Opera*) was edited by Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss (Brunswick, 1863–1900), in 59 quarto volumes. The *Institutes* are in vols. I–IV. A valuable synopsis, which enables one to compare the matter in the various editions, is in vol. I, pp. l–lviii. The comparison is further aided by the use of different type to illustrate the additions made in the successive editions from 1536 to 1559.

[2] *Opera*, XXXI, 23–24, in the Preface to Psalms. Translation in Beveridge, *Calvin's Institutes*, I, p. ix, and in Comm. on Psalms, I, p. xi.

the history of the papacy. The treatment of the church and its function was increased eightfold in the definitive edition of 1559, while the whole book was increased but fivefold. The fall of man, original sin, the loss of freedom of the will, are increased from two pages in the first to eighty-two in the final edition; while the treatment of civil government is increased by only six pages, and the prefatory address to Francis I is even less changed.

It was but natural, as the book became less of an *apologia* and more a handbook of theology, that the sections dealing with doctrine should be most largely increased. The things that impress a modern reader in comparing the successive editions are, first, Calvin's growing belief in a more representative form of government in church and state; and, second, the unflinching way in which he deduces startling but entirely logical conclusions from his premises.

In the first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin did not attempt to differentiate between bishop and presbyter, but called them both indifferently ministers.[1] The conception of elders as lay officers and the definition of their function occur first in the edition of 1543, two years after the actual introduction of elders into Geneva.[2] Similarly, it was after seven years of practical experience with the governments of Geneva and Strasburg that Calvin modified his original declaration of 1536 in favor of aristocracy as the most desirable form of government. In the edition of 1543 he advocated as the best form "either aristocracy or aristocracy tempered with democracy."[3]

A striking illustration of his unshrinking deduction of conclusion from premise is his teaching of double predestination. The first edition of the *Institutes* does not contain any mention of predestination or any explicit teaching of double predestination. The doctrine of election as expounded in the

[1] *Opera*, I, 186: Episcopos et presbyteros promiscue voco ecclesiae ministros. Ordo, est ipsa vocatio.
[2] *Ibid.*, I, 567.
[3] Cf. *Opera*, I, 232 with I, 1105, and with the French edition, IV, 1134.

first edition was no new thing, but rather an exposition of the teaching of St. John, St. Paul, and St. Augustine. A modern mind familiar with Calvin's later teaching might deduce double predestination from a phrase in the discussion of Providence; but Calvin certainly did not give the doctrine explicit expression in his first edition. Bretschneider failed to find predestination there, while Kampschulte and Schaff did find it.[1] No one, however, after reading the first edition would maintain that the idea of double predestination, if held at all, was either a starting-point or a point of essential importance in Calvin's thought in 1536. Whatever the interpretation of a dubious phrase may be, it is quite clear that Calvin started, not with double predestination, but with the twin premises of the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of the Word of God. But the predestination of the damned as well as the saved was so logical a deduction from his belief in a biblical teaching of damnation and in a God of absolute sovereignty, "without whom nothing comes to pass," that a man of Calvin's logical and unshrinking temper was bound to draw the conclusion. Therefore in the second edition of the *Institutes*, published in 1539, he did not shrink from this startling but logical deduction. "In conformity therefore to the clear doctrine of Scripture we assert that, by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction." [2] This, it should be remembered, first appeared in 1539, and had not been stated in the first edition of the *Institutes* nor during Calvin's first stay in Geneva. Double predestination later proved a convenient

[1] Bretschneider, *Reformationsalmanach*, 1821, p. 76; Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 256, note 1; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, p. 448.

[2] *Opera*, I, 861 (ed. of 1539): Hominum alii ad salutem, alii ad damnationem praedestinantur . . . aeterna quoque rerum omnium dispensatio ex Dei ordinatione pendeat. *Ibid.*, 865: Aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur, . . . Quod ergo scriptura clare ostendit, dicimus Dominum, aeterno ac immutabili consilio semel constituisse quos olim assumeret in salutem, quos rursum exitio devolveret. In this second edition there is an entire new chapter of forty-one pages devoted to "Predestination and the Providence of God."

theological earmark by which to recognize Calvinists. It should however be noted that it is a deduction from more essential premises, namely, "the sovereignty of God and the Word of God." That it is a deduction rather than a premise appears when one considers the logic of Calvin's thought. That it is not the historic starting-point is clear from an examination of the documents in their chronological order. Calvin's ultimate contribution lay not so much in the new dogma of a double predestination as in the temper of mind which produced the dogma and developed its adherents. The temper of mind has survived the dogma. Calvin's searching examination of premises and his unflinching drawing of conclusions inevitably tended, in religion and education, to develop a spirit of re-examination and eventually a denial of premises. A like spirit in the domain of law led to enforcement, to repeal, or to revolution.

Given in the first place a great leader of men tending toward a more representative form of government in both church and state, second, an unflinching system of re-examining premises and drawing conclusions, and, finally, a type of followers bred to enforce conclusions, and it is not difficult to foresee that such followers of such a leader and system would inevitably tend to develop liberty and self-government far beyond the leader's personal plans for his own generation. "Modern Democracy," as Professor Borgeaud has pointed out, "is the child of the Reformation, not of the reformers." [1] Modern liberty is the resultant of many forces, and may not be attributed solely to any single era or movement; but at least one line of its ancestry has its roots in the Reformation. Democracy and liberty were not the objects of the Reformers, but they are valuable by-products of the Reformation.

The twin premises with which Calvin starts in his *Institutes* in 1536 are the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of the Word of God. "God is the only sovereign

[1] C. Borgeaud, *Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, p. 2.

of souls. Whatever befalls us comes from him." "He is deceived who expects lasting prosperity in that kingdom which is not ruled by the sceptre of God, that is, his Holy Word." [1] "God is not idle." "He holds the helm of the world." [2]

Trust in such a God gives moral poise. "If we sanctify the Lord of Hosts we shall not be much afraid," wrote the young author in 1536. Three years later, after his humiliation and exile from Geneva, he could add, "The necessary consequences of this knowledge are gratitude in prosperity, patience in adversity, and a wonderful security respecting the future." [3] Reinforced by the healthy sense of moral obligation so strong in the Puritan, such a trust gives men moral power. "Let us play the man for our people and for the cities of our God, and let the Lord do that which seemeth him good"—this was Calvin's stirring counsel twenty years later in that very year when the Genevan councillor replied to the ambassador of Savoy, "For the sovereignty of God and the Word of God we will hazard our lives." In this same passage, published in the month when Geneva was threatened by Savoy, Calvin taught that sane combination of trust in God with active defence which found expression in the council's vote "to recommend themselves to God and to keep good watch." "Joab," wrote Calvin, "though he acknowledges the event of battle to depend on the will and the power of God, yet surrenders not himself to inactivity, but vigorously executes all the duties of his office, and leaves the event to the divine decision." [4] "If our calling (*vocatio*) is indeed of the Lord, as we firmly believe that it is, the Lord himself will bestow his blessing, although the whole universe may be opposed to us. Let us, therefore, try every remedy, while, if such is not to be found, let us, notwithstanding, persevere to the last gasp" (*ad ultimum usque spiritum*). [5]

[1] *Institutes*, in *Opera*, I, 209, 63, 11–12.
[2] *Opera*, I, 63; II, 168, 147, 150 (Deum mundi gubernacula tenere).
[3] *Opera*, I, 20; II, 895–896.
[4] *Ibid.*, II, 162.
[5] *Ibid.*, X, ii, 331. Calvin to Farel, March, 1539. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 131.

It would be easy to multiply examples of the same spirit "wherever the evangelical movement drank of the spring of the *Institutes*." [1] On the receipt of the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the council of Geneva ordered that "everyone should hold his arms in readiness and frequent the sermons." [2] Governor John Winthrop and his companions in the Puritan exodus of 1630, on sighting supposedly hostile Spanish vessels, first put up the defences, armed the men, and tried the weapons; then, "all things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. . . . Our trust was in the Lord of Hosts; and the courage of our captain and his care and diligence did much encourage us." [3] "Trust in God and keep your powder dry" indicates two Puritan actions, but not the order of the acts. The Puritan first tried the weapons and then "trusted the Lord of Hosts." The guns on the meeting-house at Plymouth, the carefully stacked muskets in the New England house of prayer, the men "with powder-horn and bullet pouch slung across their shoulders while their reverend pastor (who is said to have had the best gun in the parish) prayed and preached with his good gun standing in the pulpit" [4]—these are familiar examples of the same spirit of trusting in God and utilizing the wits and weapons he had foreordained. Some Puritans even prayed with their eyes open, possibly in literal fulfilment of the injunction, "Watch and pray." "God made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but was due to Him," was the characterization of Oliver Cromwell, by "one who knew him well." [5] The characterization applies well to the Puritan of all lands, bred on the teachings of fear of God and fearless performance of duty. Profoundly

[1] Kampschulte, *J. Calvin, seine Kirche und sein Staat in Genf*, I, 447 (Leipzig, 1869). This phrase is applied by Kampschulte to another aspect of Puritanism. Kampschulte was a Catholic (later an "Old Catholic"), and did not live to finish his book. A second volume was published in 1899, after his death; it extended only to 1559.

[2] Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 122.

[3] Winthrop, *History of New England*, I, 7.

[4] Nathaniel Bouton, *History of Concord, N. H.*, p. 154.

[5] Gardiner, *Cromwell*, p. 319.

convinced that his work in this world and his place in the next were alike marked out for him by the Almighty, the Puritan fearlessly and unflinchingly worked out his other profound conviction, that his daily task was to fulfil his calling however dangerous or however humble. Calvin and the Puritans were saved from fatalism by their practical temper and their sense of moral obligation. Man's obligation to daily fulfilment of God's law was the corollary to the eternal authority of that law. The "Saint's Rest" was to come in the next world; in this world he was to labor at his "calling" and "do all his work." "He who has fixed the limits of our life has also intrusted us with the care of it." [1] "It will be no small alleviation of his cares, labors, troubles, and other burdens, when a man knows that in all these things he has God for his guide. The magistrate will execute his office with greater pleasure; the father of a family will confine himself to his duty with more satisfaction; and all, in their respective spheres of life, will bear and surmount the inconveniences, cares, disappointments, and anxieties which befall them, when they shall be persuaded that every individual has his burden laid upon him by God. . . . There will be no employment so mean and sordid—provided we follow our calling (*vocationi*)—as not to appear truly respectable, and be deemed highly important in the sight of God." [2]

Calvin's discussion of the church and civil government makes a striking contribution to the development of a Puritan state. The state is distinct from the church, but is bound

[1] *Opera*, II, 157.

[2] *Opera*, II, 532 (*Institutes*, Book iii, chap. 10, definitive edition of 1559). The last sentence appeared first in 1539; all the previous portion of the quotation in 1559. The reader who may wish to know something of Calvin's somewhat unpuritanical attitude toward "the right use of present life and its supports" will find this chapter illuminating. Three other passages which will well repay reading are Book i, chaps. 16 and 17 (on Providence and its application), especially section 4; Book iv, chap. 10, "Conscience"; Book ii, chap. 8, sections 28–34, giving his liberal theories as to Sunday. All these may be found in either Allen's translation, published in London, 1813, and by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, Philadelphia, 1841; or in Beveridge's translation, published in Edinburgh, 1845–46, by the Calvin Translation Society; or in the quaint Elizabethan English of Thomas Norton in the nine editions published between 1561 and 1634.

to co-operate with it. Tyranny on the part of the state is prevented by the Word of God and the constitutions of men, and also by the counterbalancing power of the church. Tyranny on the part of the church is to be prevented through the liberty conferred by Christ. In the conception of the church there is also the profound moral emphasis so characteristic of Calvin and his Puritan followers.

To the ordinary Protestant definition of the church as marked by the preaching of the Word and the administration of the sacraments, Calvin added a third test, "example of life"; the Word of God must be not only preached but "followed." [1] The business of the church is "edification" rather than salvation, for salvation is in the hands of God, "who alone has the power of saving and destroying." [2] The Puritan's motive was not his own salvation—he "trusted God for that"—but rather "zeal to illustrate the glory of God." [3] "Christian living" must be maintained not only by preaching and the sacraments but also by the discipline and excommunication prescribed by the Word of God and practised by the early church. Discipline and excommunication have a threefold object: that evil men in the church may not dishonor God, that they may not corrupt others, and that they may themselves be brought to repentance.[4] The church has its own head and its own liberty. "Christ is the sole head of the church and no necessity should be laid upon consciences where Christ has made them free." [5] The church has its own officers and jurisdiction. "Pastors by the word of the Lord may constrain all the glory and rank of the world to obey his majesty, and by that Word may govern all from the highest to the lowest"—a doctrine

[1] *Opera*, I, 71, 75, 76, 77.

[2] *Institutes*, in *Opera*, I, 71, 75, 204, 205, 209. Compare these references on edification and salvation with the preface to the Latin catechism of 1538 (*Opera*, V, 322). The phrase *religionis nostrae puritate* (*Opera*, V, 318) is one of the many examples of the word whence Puritan is derived.

[3] Calvin to Sadolet, 1539, in *Opera*, V, 391; translated in Beveridge, *Calvin's Tracts*, I, 33.

[4] *Opera*, I, 76–77.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

effectively used against political tyranny or maladministration.[1]

Church and state are distinct in respect to officers and jurisdiction, in the same sense in which soul and body are distinct; but they must co-operate, for they acknowledge the same sovereignty and have a common object. Civil government has for its objects not only "tranquillity and humanity," but also "the maintaining of God's glory unimpaired and the preservation of the honor of divine truth." [2] "Civil government should provide that the true religion which is contained in the law of God be not violated and polluted by public blasphemy." [3] The private citizen must be obedient to the civil government, even if laws and rulers are unjust.[4] Here Calvin made his contribution to good order at a time when the Protestant state was in danger of seeing liberty degenerate into license. On the other hand, "princes" are bidden to "hear and fear"; and the doctrine of obedience is safeguarded by a significant reservation and a constitutional provision. "Obedience to the authority of governors may not lead us away from obeying him to whose will the desires of all kings ought to be subject," for "we ought to obey God rather than men." "If there be in the present day any magistrates appointed for the protection of the people and the moderation of the power of kings, such as the ancient ephors . . . or tribunes . . . or perhaps the three estates now in every kingdom, if they connive at kings in their oppression of the humbler of the people (*humili plebeculae*), they betray the liberty of the people of which they know they have been appointed protectors by the ordinance of God." [5] Many men had repeated Peter's words "we ought to obey God rather than men." Calvin rendered a service to modern liberty, first, by pointing out the modern way in which political tyranny could be constitutionally checked; and, second, by training up a type of men with

[1] *Opera*, I, 208–209. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 245, 248. [5] *Ibid.*, I, 248.

the moral poise and the moral power necessary for a constitutional revolution and self-government. Men of this Puritan type, bred on Calvin's doctrine and discipline, checked political tyranny in Holland, Scotland, England, and America, and justify the dictum of Gardiner, that, "as a religious belief for individual men, Calvinism was eminently favorable to the progress of liberty." [1]

With this programme marked out in his "little book," Calvin came to Geneva in 1536, at a moment critical not only in the history of the city but of Protestantism. Geneva had just won her independence from bishop and duke, and accepted the authority of the Word of God. Nominally Protestant, it was far from being a Puritan state. Geneva on Calvin's arrival was a little republic of not over 13,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,000 to 1,500 were citizens capable of voting in the primary assembly.[2] In addition to the walled city, there were included under the jurisdiction of the city about twenty-eight villages on both sides of the Rhone and Lake Geneva. Geneva was practically an independent republic. It was not a member of the Swiss confederation, though it was an ally of Bern. France had also espoused the cause of Geneva in order to check Savoy. The little republic had no intention of allowing either ally to control her. When the chiefs of the Bernese army in 1536 asked for what was practically a suzerainty, the magistrates and councillors replied, "We have endured war against both the Duke of Savoy and the bishops for seventeen to twenty years . . . not because we had the intention of making the city subject to any power, but because we wished the poor city which had so much warred and suffered to have its liberty." [3] All political and religious control was in the hands of four councils: the *Conseil Général*, or primary assembly;

[1] Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of England*, 1603 to 1642, I, 24.

[2] E. Mallet, *Recherches historiques et statistiques sur la population de Genève*, 1549–1833 (Paris, 1837). Mallet concludes that the population never exceeded 13,000 in the 16th century. Mallet gives the above estimate of voting citizens in his *La Suisse historique et pittoresque*, II, 552 (Geneva, 1855–1866).

[3] *Registres du Conseil*, XXIX, fol. 11ro and 12ro.

the Council of Two Hundred; the comparatively unimportant Council of Sixty; and the Council of Twenty-five. This smallest council, commonly called the Little Council (*Petit Conseil*), was by far the most important body in the state. It included the four syndics, or chief magistrates, the treasurer, and the four syndics of the previous year, all elected by the primary assembly; and also sixteen other councillors elected by the Council of Two Hundred. It possessed large and somewhat undefined executive and judicial, as well as legislative, powers. It was with this Little Council that the Reformers ordinarily had dealings. These councils had introduced the reformation, and they continued to control ecclesiastical property, to hire and dismiss "preachers," to declare parishioners freed from excommunication, and to pass any legislation regarding religious matters which they saw fit. The civil authorities in 1536 did not recognize, and could not have recognized, the church as an organized body; for no such body had any legal or definitely established standing. It is doubtful if the thought of the church as a distinct institution in Protestant Geneva had occurred to the matter-of-fact magistrates and councillors who had just got rid of the claims of a troublesome ecclesiastical prince. The only cases of the use of the word "church" noted in the records of the councils for 1536 refer to the church building, with two exceptions: one the use of "church" by a good Roman Catholic, Balard, who before Calvin's arrival had been threatened with banishment for his views; and the other its use in a statement that Farel proposed "articles concerning the government of the church." [1] Calvin's description is historically correct: "When I first came, there was practically nothing in this church. There was preaching, and that was all. The idols were sought out and burned, but there was no reformation." [2] There was no definition or control of membership; no officers subject to church control; no property in the hands of the church; and no creed

[1] *Opera*, XXI, 206, Nov. 10, 1536. [2] *Ibid.*, IX, 891.

adopted by the church. There was simply the general body of citizens maintaining preaching and the sacraments under the control of the councils without any church organization. The records of the council regularly describe Calvin and Farel simply as "preachers" (*predicans*, *prescheurs*) until the negotiations for Calvin's recall in 1540, when he is addressed as "minister." [1] Calvin recognized the distinction, and complained in a letter to Bullinger, "the common people regard us as preachers rather than pastors." [2]

The religious situation in Geneva before Calvin's reorganization was much like that in other Protestant cities; for the introduction of Lutheran or Zwinglian reforms had not included the establishment of an organic church. A Lutheran or Zwinglian church was in practice largely controlled by the civil power, and was practically regarded as a phase of the state, not as a corporate entity. Luther had rightly found his forte in preaching and writing rather than in organizing. "Luther," a modern German scholar picturesquely writes, "when he had preached and sowed the seed of the Word, left to the Holy Spirit the care of producing the fruit, while with his friend Philip he peacefully drank his glass of Wittenberg beer." As the same German jurist and historian has pointed out, "the independence of the church is a Reformed and not a Lutheran principle." [3] Meanwhile Catholicism still maintained the medieval theory of the supremacy of the church over the state. The way was therefore open in 1536 for a new conception of church and state as two distinct and balanced organisms, each co-operating with the other.

The general situation in Europe in religion and morals

[1] *Opera*, XI, 94; XXI, 272.

[2] 21 Feb., 1538. *Opera*, X, ii, 154; in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 66: Vulgus hominum concionatores nos magis agnoscit quam pastores.

[3] Professor K. Rieker, in the *Historische Vierteljahrschrift* (Leipzig), translated by E. Choisy in *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne, 1900), separate reprint, p. 19. See also Rieker, *Grundsätze Reformierter Kirchenverfassung* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 64–71; see especially p. 70: "sind die Lutherischen Landeskirchen Anstalten des öffentlichen Rechts, nicht Genossenschaften."

needed a greater legislator and organizer than existed among the Lutherans or Zwinglians. The years in which Calvin was endeavoring to reform the church and state constituted a critical period for both Protestant and Catholic. In 1535, when Calvin was writing his *Institutes*, there occurred the collapse of both the fanatical Anabaptists at Münster and the over-ambitious commercial democracy of the Baltic led by Wullenweber. The vicissitudes of Henry VIII's matrimonial and ecclesiastical changes were not adding to the reputation of the Reformation for piety or singleness of motive among its political leaders. The same year in which Calvin published his *Institutes* witnessed in England the dissolution of the smaller monasteries and the transfer of their property to the crown, the death of Henry's first wife, the execution of his second, and his marriage to his third on the following day. Henry VIII, in Calvin's opinion, was "scarcely half-wise." [1] The wives of Philip of Hesse were even more synchronous than Henry's, and his bigamy in 1540, connived at by Luther and Melanchthon, proved a severe blow to the political and religious leadership of the German Reformation. France had adopted the policy of persecution of Protestants since their placards of 1534 attacking the Mass. In 1536, the death of the humanistic reformer Lefèvre and the publication of Calvin's *Institutes* mark the transition from the earlier humanistic to the later Calvinistic reform. Erasmus, humanist and satirist rather than reformer, died in the same year at Basel, where only four months earlier Calvin had seen his *Institutes* issue from the press. To none of these earlier leaders was the definitive leadership of the reform to fall. A greater organizing power and moral force, a man of Calvin's "architectonic genius in knowledge and practical life," in the words of Dorner, was needed to take the next step. Such a man was necessary to save Protestantism from becoming the tool of social anarchy

[1] *Opera*, X, ii, 328: Rex ipse vix dimidia ex parte sapit. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 125; Calvin to Farel, Strasburg, March 16, 1539.

and political absolutism, or from remaining a nerveless and unmoral phase of intellectual life.

These were also critical years for the papacy, which was debating an inclusive reform capable of taking in the Lutherans, but which finally turned from Luther and Contarini and Pole to Loyola. In the same year that Calvin arrived at Geneva, Paul III nominated to the cardinalate men of the reform party like Contarini, Pole, and Sadolet, and appointed a commission to report on needed reforms. Their scathing indictment was presented to the Pope the same year in which Farel and Calvin submitted to the Genevan council their "Articles" on the organization of the church. The failure of the attempt at compromise between Catholic and Lutheran at the Ratisbon conference in 1541 was one more proof that the conflict was inevitable. The date is eloquent. It was in that same year 1541 that Calvin, recalled from exile, secured the adoption of his Ecclesiastical Ordinances, the programme for a Puritan state, and that Loyola was elected General of the newly established Society of Jesus. Calvin and Loyola, both at the same college in Paris within the same twelvemonth, each under trial from 1536 to 1538, and both armed with a new organization and new powers in 1541—these were the men to lead the two new forms of organized and militant Christianity, the Reformed Churches and the Society of Jesus, the two new types of men, the Puritan and the Jesuit.

Geneva on Calvin's arrival presented a picture interesting for its apparently contradictory phases and its exuberant vitality. It did not present an inviting field for a Puritan programme. Calvin consented to stay in Geneva only because of Farel's dramatic appeal to the conscience which bade him remain and struggle rather than return to Basel to the peaceful life of a scholar which he craved. Between the Calvin of the *Institutes* and the Geneva of 1536, between his legal mind and Puritan conscience and their thoughtlessness and love of pleasure, there was a profound difference.

No one recognized more clearly than Calvin this essential difference of innate characteristics (*ingenium*). "They will not be tolerable to me, nor I to them," he wrote four years later when the Genevans were seeking to recall him.[1] Conscience, not compatibility, compelled Calvin to remain in Geneva in 1536 and to return to the task in 1541. The Genevans were a cosmopolitan people, of French, Italian, and German descent, and of complex characteristics. Their complex characteristics presented to the reformer grave difficulties. Their cosmopolitan character offered an opportunity for an international and adaptable type of reform radiating from a cosmopolitan centre. At their worst the Genevans of 1536 were loose-tongued, riotous, "thoughtless and devoted to their pleasures," as their own Bonivard confessed. At their best they were keen-witted, shrewd in business, sagacious in city politics, deft in international diplomacy, and mettlesome in defence of their liberties. Their thoughtlessness and love of pleasure made Calvin's task a difficult one. Their keen business sense and administrative power, their political sagacity and their mettlesomeness, made it possible to transform their obstinacy from the plane of politics to that of religion, and to make the next generation as keen in defence of the Ten Commandments and the *Institutes* as their fathers had been in defence of their *franchises* and their political liberty. It was a city where merchants and artisans had been trained to use the sword. In 1461 it had been ordered "that every one should have a sword behind the door in the front of his house, or in the workshop of his house." [2] Genevans had the inborn temper to which Calvin's unflinching teaching could appeal; and they possessed the skill and hardihood to carry out a programme to which they should once devote themselves. They were more skilful politicians than the young author of twenty-seven; and "that Frenchman" (*ille Gallus*) had

[1] *Opera*, XI, 91.

[2] *Registres du Conseil de Genève*, II (1461–1477), 75, Dec. 10, 1461. *Société d'Histoire de Genève*, 1906.

many hard lessons to learn from grave magistrate and witty populace before he was able to beat them at their own game. On the other hand, Calvin, with his broad and scholarly training in classics, theology, and law, his profound scholarship, his unwavering devotion to a single purpose, his definite programme and his organizing genius, was the one man fitted to mould the mettlesome but plastic republic into a Puritan State.[1]

In January, 1537, "Farel and the other preachers," including Calvin, took the first decisive step in the formulation of the new programme. They presented to the Genevan council articles concerning the organization of the church.[2] These Articles, evidently drawn from the *Institutes*, are Calvin's attempt to apply his fundamental ideas to a specific situation. Starting and ending with the "Word of God," the Articles propose six things as essential: a communion service frequently and reverently celebrated, if possible once a month; "the discipline of excommunication"; a common confession of faith; singing of psalms in public worship; the religious training of children; and marriage laws in conformity to the Word of God.

The first article includes both the communion and "the discipline of excommunication," for to Calvin's mind discipline, "the nerve of the church," was essential to a reverent observance of communion. In this article two points in the Puritan programme are emphasized; the moral obligation resting on the individual, and the moral responsibility for its members resting upon the church as an organization.

[1] For a study of "Geneva before Calvin" see an article by the writer in the *American Historical Review* for January, 1903, especially p. 239, and note 2.

[2] The Articles are in *Opera*, X, 5–14; and in the extremely valuable and scholarly work of A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française*, IV, 154–166 (9 vols., 1512–1544, Geneva, 1866–1897). See in Herminjard, notes 1, 6, 7, 11, on similarities between *Institutes* and Articles. Calvin had been engaged on a French version of his "little book" after his arrival in Geneva. See his letter in *Opera*, X, 63, translated in Bonnet, *Calvin's Letters*, I, 45. The document is simply indorsed, "Articles bailles par les prescheurs." Modern authors like Kampschulte, Herminjard, Roget, Walker, and the editors of the *Opera* confirm the contemporary statement of Beza and Colladon that Calvin was the author of the Articles.

Calvin's emphasis on the communion was ethical rather than dogmatic. His attitude was practical rather than mystical, and he concerned himself rather with the character of the communicant than with the character of the bread and wine. The essential question was not whether Christ was present in the bread and wine, but whether he was present in the life of the communicant. "The principal point is . . . that those who show by their wicked and iniquitous life that they in no wise belong to Jesus should not come to communicate with him." "All those who wish to have Jesus for their life should participate in the communion," was the statement in the confession of faith adopted a few months later, in accordance with the proposals in the Articles.[1] In order to secure this ethical aim of "Christian living" and to check "iniquitous life unworthy of a Christian," the Articles recommended the following method for enforcing the "discipline of excommunication enjoined by the Lord upon his church in the 18th of St. Matthew." It was a method almost unknown among Protestant churches, and it was put into practice in Geneva only after eighteen years of bitter struggle.[2] It was little less than revolutionary in its implication of the church as a distinct organism with powers of its own. Calvin recommended that the council should appoint "in every quarter of the city certain persons of good life and reputation and a constancy not easy to corrupt." These persons should "have an eye on the life of every one," and report "any notable vice" to a minister for private admonition. If this is unheeded, the offender should be threatened with report to the church. "If he recognizes his fault, then there is great profit from this discipline." If he still refuses to listen, he is to be denounced by the minister in the assembly; and if he still "persists in hardness of heart," he is

[1] Articles, *Opera*, X, 8; Confession, *Opera*, XXII, 92.

[2] For the ideas of Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Melanchthon on discipline see Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, pp. 373–4 and 378, and his references to Richter, *Evangelische Kirchenordnungen*, I, 158, and to Melanchthon, *Corpus Reformatorum*, IV, 547 (ed. Bretschneider, 1837). Cf. Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 391, and note 2.

to be excommunicated. No provision is made as to how or by whom excommunication was to be pronounced; but that the power was vested in the church and not in the state is clear from a succeeding paragraph: "Beyond this correction the church cannot go," but it shall be the duty of the council to prevent "mockery of God and of his gospel" on the part of any "who do nothing but laugh at being excommunicated." The persons to be corrected thus are "those named by St. Paul," "a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer (*maldisans*), or a drunkard, or an extortioner," as the Genevan New Testament and the King James version alike translated the passage quoted by Calvin (1 Cor. 5: 11).

Calvin's practical and organizing temper thus led him to urge a system of discipline as a means of training or rejecting members already in the church. Discipline of morals was no new thing in Geneva or other cities.[1] Calvin's new step was in making systematic provision for the enforcement of scriptural morals by a scriptural church re-enforced by the co-operation of the state. He wished to restore to the Protestant church the practice which proved "of singular utility and advancement to Christianity" in the primitive church (*anciennement*), until "wicked bishops, or rather brigands, turned it into tyranny." [2]

In order that the church might be properly instituted, two other steps were necessary. First, "the right beginning of a church" required "that all the inhabitants should make confession of their faith and give reasons for it," in order to show that they were "united in one church." Second, in order that future generations might preserve "purity of

[1] See "Geneva before Calvin," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1903, pp. 229–231, and notes. Vincent, "European Blue Laws," in *Annual Report Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, 1897, pp. 356–372; and Lindsay, *Reformation*, II, 107–113. Principal Lindsay's characterization of the Genevan excommunication as "not in a way conformable to his [Calvin's] ideas" is applicable to the period before 1555, but hardly to the later period, when the consistory had secured the right of excommunication. See Choisy, *Théocratie à Genève*, pp. 165–166.

[2] *Opera*, X, 9.

doctrine . . . and be able to give reasons for their faith," the children should be instructed at home by their parents in a simple catechism, and then be examined and, if necessary, further taught by the minister until pronounced "sufficiently instructed." Calvin did not in the Articles formally state the doctrine of an independent church which he had already stated in his *Institutes*. That would have been impolitic, had he wished to do so. What he did do was to take certain practicable steps toward a more independent church. The three steps were: determination of present membership by a creed; admission of future members by a catechism; and discipline of morals as a means for both training and pruning membership. Such steps would in time produce an independent church with organic life of its own.

The final article requested that a joint commission of magistrates and ministers be appointed to settle existing marriage causes and to draw up ordinances according to the Word of God for the decision of future cases. The Genevan councils in their reply to the preachers' memorial displayed a characteristic willingness to admit the theoretical authority of the Word of God and an equally characteristic unwillingness to lessen their own authority or to enforce any thoroughgoing programme. The councils were not accustomed to regard the Word as a means for lessening their power. They therefore reserved to themselves the decision of marriage causes, and declined to associate the preachers with themselves in joint commission. They also declined to increase the frequency of communion. In lieu of the new system vesting discipline in the church, they reaffirmed an old vote charging two councillors with the general supervision of morals in the city. This was merely a vote to continue the ordinary municipal police supervision common to Geneva and other cities of that day. In view of the councils' previous policy, their votes at this time, and their later refusal to allow the preachers to exclude any one from the communion, it is quite clear that a vague vote, "the rest of

the articles is passed," meant actually that the councils did not propose to alter their historic and continuous policy of control of religion and morals, or to recognize any new order of things; but simply that there was to be a confession and catechism. If one comes to the councils' vote from a study of their records in the *Registres du Conseil*, it is evident that the magistrates had no intention of sharing jurisdiction with the ministers or of conferring powers on a "church." As we have already seen, the councils did not use the word "church" in their votes at this period, though Calvin used it in his Articles. On the other hand, if one approaches the situation from Calvin's point of view as revealed in the *Institutes*, the Articles, and his letters, it is equally clear that he had in mind the bestowal of certain rights upon the church as an organization. Calvin and the council were approaching the question at issue from such totally different conceptions of a church that they did not understand each other. So modern writers, failing to note the two points of view of Calvin and the council, and failing to scrutinize carefully the somewhat jumbled votes of the councils, have been apt to attach too much importance to their somewhat vague vote. Calvin knew what he wanted, and was working on long lines; but he did not get the essential thing that he asked for in 1537.[1] A year later he wrote to Bullinger, "It

[1] Even Professor Walker, the author of the latest and the most judicious life of Calvin, does not seem to the writer to take this difference in point of view between Calvin and the council quite sufficiently into account or to scrutinize sufficiently the blanket vote of the council, "the rest of the articles is passed." He says (p. 192), the councils "promptly adopted the Articles with slight reservations" (mentioning the marriage questions and the monthly communion), and then adds, "but the plan which Farel and Calvin had presented became the law of Geneva in its essential features." This seems to neglect the following facts: (1) one of the "essential features," if not the essential feature, "discipline of excommunication," was a part of the article on the communion, and so probably went by the board with the refusal to adopt monthly communion; (2) the vote of the Little Council was modified by the vote of the Council of Two Hundred, which made it clear that it was the magistrates who were still to continue to look after morals and see that the city "lived according to God"; (3) the council had already exercised the right of excommunication, and refused it to the ministers the first time it was suggested; (4) the right of excommunication remained a bone of contention until 1555; (5) the only things actually done were the adoption of creed and catechism; (6) Calvin himself felt the thing essential to a "lasting church" had not been done, and was obliged again in 1538 to insist upon the adoption of the same thing as a condition of his

appears to me that we shall have no lasting church unless that ancient apostolic discipline be completely restored, which in many respects is much needed among us." [1] He had to demand the same things in 1538 and again in 1541, and won them all only in 1555.

Quite different from the opportunist policy of the council was the thorough-going Puritan temper of the preachers' closing appeal: "If you see that these warnings and exhortations are truly from the Word of God, consider of what importance and consequence they are for maintaining the honor of God in its proper state and the church in its entirety (*en son entier*) . . . and do not spare yourselves in diligently putting them into execution. . . . And do not be moved by any difficulty which any one may find in these matters. For when we offer ourselves in fulfilment of that which has been ordained (*ordonné*) for us by God we should hope that of his goodness he will cause our enterprise to prosper and will conduct it to a good end."

A catechism and confession of faith were promptly printed by the state.[2] The catechism briefly restated in French the fundamental teachings of the *Institutes*. Like the *Institutes* it closes with the principle, "we ought to obey God rather than men." The confession of faith was an extract from the catechism. It is a document of great simplicity and power, admirably adapted for the creed of a newly reformed community. Like the *Institutes* and the Articles it begins and ends with the twin premises of the sovereignty of God and

return. The votes of the councils are in *Opera*, XXI, 206–207. For earlier and later votes see *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1903, p. 227, note 6, and Herminjard, IV, 26, and *Opera*, XXI, 220. For modern comments see Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 289, 290; Roget, I, 23; Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, p. 137, who suggests with reason that their votes may not have been quite clear to the councils themselves.

[1] *Opera*, X, ii, 154; Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 66.

[2] In *Opera*, XXII, 33–96; and in Rilliet et Dufour, *Catéchisme français de Calvin* (Geneva, 1878). For facts regarding the actions of council see Herminjard, IV, 185, notes 8–10; Rilliet et Dufour, xxxii, lx–lxi; *Registres du Conseil* for April 27, 1537, quoted in *Opera*, XXI, 210–211. Calvin afterwards revised the catechism in the form of question and answer. In this form it became the basis of religious instruction of the Reformed Churches. Fourteen editions were printed in English alone before the Puritan exodus to New England in 1630.

the Word of God, and the corollary of man's obligation to obey the law of God. "Since his will is the sole rule of all justice, we confess that our whole life ought to be regulated by the commandments of his holy law." [1] The Ten Commandments, which directly follow this declaration, became the moral constitution to which every inhabitant of Geneva had to take public and solemn oath. Sworn allegiance to the moral law as summed up in the Ten Commandments became an official test of good citizenship and social standing as well as of church membership. On the other hand, the moral obligation of "all Christians to obey statutes and ordinances which do not contravene the commandments of God" had its logical converse of Christian liberty. "All laws made to bind men's consciences to things not commanded by God and tending to break Christian liberty are perverse doctrines of Satan." [2] This clause, in what was probably the first Protestant creed to be adopted by a representative body and sworn to and permanently observed by the inhabitants of a republic, contains the same significant political principle already noted in the *Institutes*. This germ of liberty, coupled with that other provision of the *Institutes* for constitutional revolution, was to be used effectively later by Huguenots, Dutch, Scotch, English, and New Englanders in resistance to tyranny. In his provision for means to check religious and political tyranny through the Word of God and the constitutions of men, Calvin made a contribution reaching far beyond his own personal intentions. His services here cannot be gainsaid on account of his failure to provide for freedom of individual consciences, or to avoid all tyranny on the part of the church, or to make thoroughgoing distinction between church and state. His tendency is clear; and the later Puritan movement will be found to have blazed a rough trail in the direction of larger liberty, even though with halting and sometimes wandering steps. It was not possible to have complete liberty in Geneva in 1536,

[1] *Opera*, XXII, 86.

[2] *Ibid.*, XXII, 95, 92.

before Calvin or after Calvin. It was not essential that there should be a clear-cut academic distinction between church and state. It was of profound importance that there should be laid down and worked out in the middle of the sixteenth century such a rational, legal, and practicable means of checking the tyranny of either the church or the state as should contribute to the ultimate liberty of both. Men will always differ about so profound a personality as John Calvin, but one is astonished that a scholar of Lord Acton's reputation should so misrepresent both Calvin's words and his deeds as to say of him, "There was nothing in the institutes of men, no authority, no right, no liberty, that he cared to preserve, or towards which he entertained any feeling of reverence or obligation." [1]

The Confession reaffirms the profoundly ethical emphasis already noted in the *Institutes* and Articles. It was more than a creed: it was a religious and social compact. Professedly following the examples of the covenants of the Old Testament, it was the forerunner of the Scottish National Covenant of 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant signed by the English Parliament in 1643, and the covenants entered into by the early New England town churches. As a practical working standard for the special needs of Geneva, the Confession went further than Calvin's earlier documents, and doubled the kinds of "rotten members" who might be disciplined with excommunication. To the "fornicator, idolater, railer, drunkard," are now added "manifest murderers, thieves, false witnesses, seditious persons, brawlers (*noiseulx*, *jurgatores*), slanderers (*detraicteurs*), fighters (*bateurs*), and spendthrifts (*dissipateurs de biens*)." The list in the Articles had been based on the injunction of St. Paul. The list of offences in the confession of faith is based also on the Ten Commandments, and made their acceptance by the inhabitants of Geneva mean something. The list is however even more comprehensive than the Ten Command-

[1] Acton, *History of Liberty*, I, 178.

ments, for it adds the offences of sedition, quarrelling, slander, fighting, wastefulness, and drunkenness. The additions are significant, for they mark the special offences which were felt by Calvin and Farel to need discipline in Geneva. That there was no mention of Sabbath-breaking will not surprise one who is familiar with Calvin's markedly liberal and practical interpretation of this commandment. The later and sometimes superstitious observance of the Sabbath was the work of smaller and more literal minds than Calvin's. He recognized the "abrogation of what was ceremonial in this command," and wished to retain its fundamental and permanent purposes of a day for common worship and "relaxation from labor for servants and workmen and animals." His sound method was to interpret the commandment in the light of the Christian liberty of the gospel; to preserve the kernel and throw away the shell. The social and economic purposes of the day appear in the second edition of the catechism. "This [commandment] conduces to public order (*police*). For every one gets in the habit of working the rest of the time when there is one day of repose." Calvin and the Puritan did not forget the positive portion, the six-sevenths of the commandment, "six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." Possibly the inclusion of "spendthrifts" among the offenders subject to excommunication was regarded by Calvin as a logical inference from the commandment to work.[1]

In view of this comprehensive list of offences which might subject "the deserter from the army" to such a military conception of discipline, it is not surprising that many of

[1] The discussion of the commandment in the first edition of the *Institutes* is in *Opera*, I, 36–38. The provision for rest for animals here included is, with the provision in the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641 (see articles 92–93, "Off the Bruite Creature"), an interesting example of the Hebrew element in Calvin and the Puritans. The discussion in the Catechism of 1537 is in *Opera*, XXII, 41–42; that in the Catechism of 1542 is in *Opera*, VI, 65. The passage in the final edition of the *Institutes* is not essentially different from that in the first, and may be found in the English translation in Book ii, chap. 8, sections 28–34. The editor of the sixth American edition of Allen's translation naïvely wrote in his "Advertisement," "It is much to be lamented that so great a mind should have been led astray on so important a point."

the inhabitants of Geneva were not enthusiastic "to enroll themselves under the banner of Christ." [1] The attempt by the council to enforce upon all inhabitants a public oath to the confession precipitated a crisis. After repeated attempts, the council felt obliged to threaten with the customary Genevan penalty of banishment those who refused the oath. Even then some delayed from July to November before complying. For refusal to swear, coupled with other offences, only two women and one man-servant were actually banished. Yet even then, in response to the summons of the council as late as November 12, not one person came from one of the important streets of the city.[2] The ground of objection to the confession is significant. It was not the doctrine but the discipline that was objected to. The confession was remarkably simple in doctrine. It contained no mention of the Trinity, original sin, predestination, or of eternal punishment; no mention of heaven or hell, save as they occur in the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. It was a confession which emphasized the moral obligation of man, his conduct rather than his creed. It was, says the contemporary chronicler, Roset, "the point of excommunication that was a bit troublesome (*un peu facheux*) to the opponents." The popular objection went straight to the heart of the matter, and balked at just what the Puritan programme insisted upon—the real enforcement of the moral law by an organization whose business was morals and not politics. "The ten commandments of God are hard to observe," and "they who swear to observe them are regarded as perjurers"

[1] These and other military phrases are in Calvin's preface to the Latin edition of the Catechism, 1538, *Opera*, V, 319, 321; also in French translation in Rilliet et Dufour, *Catéchisme*, pp. 133, 137. This preface, written during the bitter fight of 1537–38, breathes a strikingly militant spirit and a spirit of liberty. Cf. *Opera*, V, 322; Rilliet, p. 142.

[2] The various votes of the council are in *Registres du Conseil*, XXX, fols. 208, 212, 219, 222; XXXI, fols. 32, 61, 81, 90, March 13–Nov. 15, 1537. The votes are reprinted in *Opera*, XXI, 208–217. For the banishments see also Roget, *Hist. du peuple de Genève*, I, 42–45. The street from which no one came was the Rue des Allamans. This street had in the Council of Two Hundred twelve representatives in 1535, and at least three in 1538. MS. Rolle du Conseil des CC (Dartmouth College Library); *Registres du Conseil*, 12 Feb., 1538, XXXI, fol. 191[vo].

—these were the objections which were heard at table and in the council chamber.[1] The feeling of the populace is shown by the wits who went about the streets and taverns, mocking the preachers, and saluting their supporters with the query, "Art thou one of the brothers in Christ? by God, you will be sorry for it." [2] Even the council favorable to the preachers and ready to enforce the oath to the confession refused in January, 1538, to permit the preachers to exclude any one from the approaching communion.[3]

The annual elections resulted in a complete defeat for the magistrates of 1537, who had been favorable to the preachers. In February, 1538, these men were replaced by the most bitter opponents of the preachers and their Puritan programme. The newly elected magistrates speedily secured control of the councils by deposing the remaining partisans of the preachers on accusations of treasonable dealings with France. The Council of Two Hundred then, on March 11—the same day on which it deposed the councillors favorable to the preachers—extended their declaration of war to the ministers themselves by two significant votes. The council voted "that the preachers be notified that they are not to mix up in politics but to preach the gospel of God; and further to live in the Word of God according to the ordinances of Bern." [4] These votes were two blows directed at two points in the preachers' programme; namely, liberty of preaching and liberty of worship; or, as they expressed it in the confession, freedom from "all laws made to bind men's consciences to things not commanded by God and

[1] Roset, *Chroniques de Genève*, Liv. iv, ch. 9 (ed. Fazy, Geneva, 1894). The objections are recorded in *Registres du Conseil* for 26 Nov., 1537 (printed in *Opera*, XXI, 217, and in Roget, *Histoire*, I, 43).

[2] *Registres du Conseil* for 26 Nov., 1537, and 16 Jan., 1538, in *Opera*, XXI, 217, 222; Roset, *Chroniques*, Liv. iv, ch. 10; and Roget, I, 68; *Opera*, XXI, 217.

[3] *Opera*, XXI, 220.

[4] The votes of the council are printed in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, IV, 403, note 2, and in Cornelius, *Historische Arbeiten*, 159, note 1. On the deposition of the preachers' partisans from the Council of Twenty-five see Roget, *Histoire*, I, 75, and note 2. The new magistrates of 1538 were the more bitter as they had themselves been defeated in the election of 1537. The bitter party struggle between the ins and the outs during these two years may be followed in Roget or Cornelius.

tending to break Christian liberty." [1] "The ordinances of Bern" were certain regulations prescribing to the churches under its jurisdiction the observance of four ecclesiastical holidays and certain methods of administering communion and baptism. The Genevan ministers had a right to feel that they should have been consulted by the magistrates regarding the adoption of such ordinances, and it was the intention of Bern that they should be.[2] But they were refused even their request that no innovations should be introduced until the question could be discussed by a church synod. The ministers were clearly standing for the rights of the church against a manifestly ill-considered demand for immediate and "servile conformity" to the ordinances of another city. Calvin cared little about ceremonies, but he cared much about "edification" and the rights of the church. "In things where the Lord has granted us liberty for the great end of edification it would be unworthy to introduce a servile conformity which does not edify," he wrote during the conflict.[3] His objections to civil interference with the ministers' liberty of preaching the Word he voiced in a letter to Farel when the subject of his recall was under discussion a year later: "If I shall speak a word which is unpleasant for them to hear, forthwith they will enjoin silence." [4]

The issue of the liberty of the church assumed an acute stage the Friday before Easter, when Coraud, one of the preachers, was summoned before the council for criticisms made in his sermon, and threatened with imprisonment if he preached again. On the day after this threat against their fellow-minister, Calvin and Farel gave their first definite refusal to administer the communion according to the Bernese

[1] *Opera*, XXII, 92.

[2] The letter of Bern to the Genevan council is in Herminjard, IV, 403; cf. Cornelius, p. 160, and also the later letter of Bern, Herminjard, IV, 416. The four festivals were Christmas, Circumcision (New Year's), Annunciation, and Ascension; see Herminjard, IV, 413, note 17, and V, 137, note 9.

[3] *Opera*, V, 322.

[4] *Ibid.*, X, ii, 325, Calvin to Farel, Strasburg, 16 March, 1539. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 121.

form. Next day Coraud preached and was imprisoned. To the demand for his release the council made a counter-demand that the preachers "obey the said letter of Messrs of Bern." "The said preachers replied they were unwilling to act save as God has commanded them."

Calvin and Farel state that the council was ready to accept their proposal for postponement of the question of ceremonies, provided the preachers would consent to the deposition of Coraud, but that they would not consent to this "against the express prohibition of Scripture." [1] The issue was clearly drawn between the church's newly-demanded liberty in preaching and ceremonies and the customary right of the caesaropapist state to full jurisdiction in religious matters.

Each side preferred to fight it out rather than compromise. On Saturday the sheriff brought to Calvin a renewed request from the council that he "preach and administer the communion next day according to the form in the letter" from Bern. Calvin replied that the council "had not observed the tenor of said letter," having failed to consult with the ministers,[2] and that he was "unwilling to administer the communion as contained in the said letter." He was then warned not to preach. During the night before Easter the populace shot off muskets before the doors of the preachers, threatened to throw them into the Rhone if they refused to give them the communion next day, and with characteristically keen wit and loose tongue made obscene puns on "the Word of God as the Ordure of God." [3] The next day, Easter Sunday, April 21, 1538, both Farel and Calvin preached, in spite of the prohibition; and, in spite of the council's orders, they refused to administer the communion to a people guilty of

[1] *Opera*, X, ii, 188; Herminjard, IV, 424. Farel and Calvin, 27 April, 1538, to the Council of Bern.

[2] The council of Bern had written, "avec vous ministres Calvin et Farel amiablement sur ce convenir." Herminjard, IV, 416, and Cornelius, 174, note 1.

[3] Roset, *Chroniques*, Liv. iv, ch. 17: "Ils crioent la petolle de Dieu, parlans de la parole." Cf. Herminjard, IV, 426.

such "disorders" and "ridicule of the Word of God." [1] The general council of all the citizens promptly voted on Tuesday, April 23, that "Faret" and Calvin should leave the city within three days. The replies of the preachers to the sheriff are reported to the council and gravely entered in their daily record. "Very well," replied Calvin, "had we served men we should have been ill rewarded, but we serve a great master who will give us our reward." "Good," said Farel, "it is God's will." In marked contrast to the Puritan temper of the preachers was the old-time levity of the Genevese. Farel had been nicknamed by the popular wits "Faret," a burned-out candle-end. After his exile the populace paraded the streets with "farets" in frying-pans to show they had smoked out Farel.[2]

The story of the exile is a significant illustration of how the Puritan programme of enforcement of the Word of God bred in its adherents a spirit of liberty in matters "where Christ has made them free," and a readiness to "hazard all for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God." The precise question at stake is summed up in a document submitted by Calvin and Farel stating the conditions under which they would return. They insisted that the church should have the right to manage its own affairs according to the Word of God, including the right to discipline its membership and ordain its pastors. The statement of the method of excommunication makes plain what Calvin had in mind in the Articles of 1537: "The proper method of excommunication must be restored according to that which we have prescribed, namely, that by the council there should be chosen from each district of the city upright and judicious men upon whom in joint action with us (*i. e.*, the pastors) that duty should rest." [3]

[1] Calvin and Farel to the Council of Bern, 27 April, 1538, in Herminjard, IV, 425.

[2] The various votes of the council and replies of Calvin and Farel are in *Registres du Conseil*, quoted in *Opera*, XXI, 223–227; Herminjard, IV, 416, 423–426; Cornelius, pp. 174–179.

[3] The full conditions submitted by Calvin and Farel, May 1, 1538, to the Synod

Calvin's opponents in Geneva proved unable to build up either an orderly state or church. They became discredited through their complaisance toward Bern, were charged with treason, and were unable to prevent riotous outbreaks in the city. In 1540 eight leaders were either executed or forced to flee for their lives. At the same time the ministers who had replaced Calvin and Farel also became discredited through their too great complaisance toward the magistrates and through their own weakness; and, feeling unequal to the task, they withdrew from the city. Through the deposition of his opponents in 1540 and their defeat in the following annual election, Calvin's friends came again into full power in 1541, and endeavored to persuade their exiled pastor to return from Strasburg to Geneva. It proved necessary to have recourse to a long series of persistent attempts on the part of councils, cities, churches, and friends in order to overcome Calvin's strong repugnance to give up his agreeable occupation and quiet home life in Strasburg, and to persuade him to undertake again the hard task at Geneva. Calvin knew he could not change his own character or his programme, and he did not know whether he could change the Genevese. In his private letters to his most trusted friends he speaks frankly of the difficulty of the task, his repugnance for it, and his dread of Geneva. "What, therefore, shall we do? Where shall we begin, if we attempt to rebuild the ruined edifice? If I shall speak a word which is unpleasant for them to hear, forthwith they will enjoin silence."[1] On the 19th of May, 1540, he wrote to Viret: "I could not read without laughing that part of your letter

at Zürich are given in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, V, 2–6. They include the points of discipline, excommunication, more frequent communion, singing of psalms in public worship, already asked for in the Articles of 1537 but not granted. They add a method of adjusting the difficulties about the ordinances of Bern; a division of Geneva into "definite parishes"; a proper increase in the number of ministers; a "legitimate installation of ministers" by ministers; prohibition in both Bern and Geneva of "lascivious and obscene songs and dances composed to the music of the Psalms."

[1] *Opera*, X, ii, 325. To Farel, 16 March, 1539. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 121.

where you show so much solicitude about my health. 'Come to Geneva that I may be better'? Why not say rather 'come straight to the cross'? For it would be far better to perish once for all than to writhe again in that place of torment. Therefore, my dear Viret, if you wish me well, renounce that project." [1] Five months later he wrote to Farel: "Now that by the favor of God I am delivered, who would not excuse me should I be unwilling to plunge myself once more into the gulf and whirlpool which I have already found to be so dangerous and destructive? . . . They will not be tolerable to me nor I to them." [2] On the first of March, 1541, he wrote to Viret: "There is no place under heaven which I could dread more; not because I hate it, but because I see so many difficulties facing me there, which I know I am quite incapable of overcoming. As often as the memory of former times returns, I cannot help shuddering with all my heart at the thought of again entering into those old struggles." [3] With this clear perception of the bitter struggle before him, Calvin showed his Puritan spirit in not shrinking from the task which his conscience persuaded him was laid upon him by God. Three days after he had declared to Farel his unwillingness to plunge again into the whirlpool, and had shown that he clearly recognized the incompatibility of temper (*ingenium*) between himself and the Genevese, he came to this resolve: "When I remember that I am not my own, I offer up my heart slain in sacrifice to God. I have no other desire than that they [the Genevese], setting aside all consideration of me, may look only to what is most for the glory of God and the advantage of the church. . . . I am well aware that it is God with whom I have to do. . . . Therefore I submit my soul (*animum*) bound and fettered to obedience to God." [4] As one reads these phrases con-

[1] *Opera*, XI, 36 (in illa carnificina iterum torqueri).
[2] *Ibid.*, XI, 91, Oct. 21, 1540. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 212.
[3] *Ibid.*, XI, 167. In Bonnet, I, 231.
[4] Cor meum velut mactatum Domino in sacrificium offero—mihi esse negotium cum Deo qui huiusmodi astutias deprehendit. Ergo animum meum vinctum et con-

cerning "the glory of God and the advantage of the church," a "soul bound and fettered to obedience to God," one is struck with a resemblance to the phrases of the Jesuits, whose order had been founded by papal bull but one month earlier. With all their striking differences in aims and methods, there was a striking resemblance between Loyola and Calvin in their unflinching devotion to what they believed to be for the glory of God.

With such a spirit Calvin returned to the task of a lifetime, the moulding of the mobile, demonstrative, self-assertive Genevese into the sturdy, self-contained Puritan type which he himself represented.[1] The points in his programme proposed by Calvin in the Articles of 1537 and submitted by him in 1538 as requisite for his return were tacitly granted by Geneva on his recall in 1541. They were included in the systematic "ecclesiastical ordinances" drawn up by Calvin, and amended and adopted by the Genevan council in November, 1541. The Ordinances enacted into law the general features of the Puritan Programme, although the amendments and interpretations by the council interfered with Calvin's more thorough-going provision for the distinct rights of the church.[2] The Ordinances defined the functions of the four officers of the church (pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons) and prescribed the method of their election and correction. This ecclesiastical constitution divided the city into parishes, and provided for systematic worship, discipline, sacraments, religious and intellectual training of chil-

strictum subigo in obedientiam Dei. To Farel, 24 Oct., 1540. *Opera*, XI, 100, and Herminjard, *Correspondance*, VI, 339, give the date correctly as 24 Oct., 1540 rather than Aug., 1531, assumed in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 280.

[1] When Calvin preached his first sermon after his recall in 1541, he began at the same place in the Scriptures where he had left off in his last sermon three and a half years before.

[2] Calvin's "Projet d'Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques," with the emendations of the council, are given in *Opera*, X, 15–30. The amended ordinances were adopted by the primary assembly, 20 Nov., 1541; *Registres du Conseil*, XXXV, fol. 406r°. Calvin's draft with emendations still exists in the archives of Geneva, *Pièces Historiques*, No. 1384. The oath for the ministers is in *Opera*, X, 31–32. The revised Ordinances of 1561, *ibid.*, 91–124. For the changes which Calvin urged in 1560 in order to secure a sharper distinction between "temporal and spiritual jurisdiction," see 120–123, and note.

dren, and the singing of psalms "by all the church." The Ordinances also included regulations for the marriage ceremony, for burials, and for visitation of the sick, poor, and prisoners; prohibition of begging; and provisions for a later and more explicit set of marriage ordinances. The chief additions to the points already noted in the earlier documents are the definition of the rights and duties of the four officers of the church. "The upright and judicious men" whom Calvin had asked for in 1537 and 1538 he recognized in 1541 for the first time as a distinct order of church officers with the name of elders. The council struck out the name elders (*anciens*) in each of the nine cases where it occurred in Calvin's draft, and substituted for it the title "deputies of the council" (*commis par la seigneurie*). It continued to call them "deputies" and to treat them as such for fourteen years. The twelve elders, or deputies, together with the pastors (six, at first), formed the consistory charged with discipline and, nominally, with excommunication. Calvin won for the consistory the right of excommunication only in 1555, after fourteen years of bitter struggle against the council's refusal to recognize the spiritual rights of the church. Yet the Ordinances indicate a growing emphasis on the distinction between church and state at two points; in the treatment of the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical penalties, and in the oath of the minister.[1] The minister swore allegiance first to God and his Word, second to the Ordinances, third to the *Seigneurie* (*i. e.*, the Little Council), and fourth to the statutes of the city, "but without prejudice to the liberty which we ought to have of teaching according as God commands us." Here once more we find the sane combination of liberty and law which characterizes Calvin and the Puritan states where Calvinism took root and bore fruit.

In spite of certain personally aristocratic traits in Calvin,

[1] This oath called for in the Ordinances was passed by the council, 17 July, 1542. See *Opera*, X, 31–32.

his logic and his practical experience led to increasing emphasis of the rights of the people. It has already been pointed out, in the discussion of the editions of the *Institutes*, that in 1543 he modified his opinion in favor of an aristocratic state to an approval (from which he never afterward varied) of "either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy." This system of "a mixed aristocracy" was that advocated by John Winthrop and practised by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay a century later.[1] The later years of Calvin's career in Geneva show him fighting to enlarge the number of those entitled to the civil franchise, and to bring about a more representative government in the church. From the time of his triumph in 1555, the policy of freer admission to burgher rights prevailed, and the numbers increased by leaps and bounds—sixty for example in less than four weeks in May, 1555.[2] He also tried to enlarge representative government in the church, and to mark out more sharply the distinction between church and state. In 1560 he urged the council to allow the elders to be chosen from the whole membership of the church and not simply from the citizens (*citoiens*); he requested the council to consult with the whole body of the ministers and not simply with himself in the election of elders, and to discriminate between ecclesiastical discipline and civil penalty; and he suggested a definite opportunity for any one to offer objections to candidates for the ministry.

The council proved ready to accept the last two proposals. In regard to the first, the opening of the eldership to the whole membership of the church, the magistrates frankly acknowledged the logic of Calvin's proposition as following the "Word of God," but even in the days of Calvin's ascendancy they were not prepared to go as far as Calvin wished. Before Calvin came to Geneva, there had been a natural tendency in time of war to centralize authority in the hands

[1] See Winthrop's "Arbitrary Government Described," etc. (1544), in appendix to R. C. Winthrop's *Life of Winthrop*, II, 440–458 (ed. 1869).

[2] See Choisy, *Théocratie*, pp. 175, 185.

of the small and somewhat aristocratic council. On the whole, Calvin's influence tended to prevent this somewhat dangerous development of a political oligarchy and aided a gradual development of representative government. This influence was continued under his successor, so that the aristocratic elements only succeeded in developing unhindered after the ministry grew weak in the later period succeeding Beza.[1]

The political constitution of Geneva had been fixed before the coming of Calvin. He shared, however, in a codification of its civil law drawn up in 1543. Of this feature of his work Rousseau, by no means a Puritan or Calvinist, but nevertheless a by-product of Geneva, wrote thus in his *Social Contract:* "Those who consider Calvin only as a theologian fail to recognize the breadth of his genius. The editing of our wise laws, in which he had a large share, does him as much honor as his *Institutes*. Whatever revolution time may bring in our religion, so long as the love of country and liberty is not extinct among us, the memory of this great man will be held in reverence." [2] Calvin's contribution to the administration and public law of Geneva, and the marvellous political sagacity and effectiveness which he continued to develop until he became one of the shrewdest practical politicians and most effective statesmen of Europe, foreshadow the keen interest which the Puritan, whether minister or layman, took in the affairs of state. An active interest in politics on the part of every citizen was one of the articles of Puritan faith, one of the axioms of the Puritan state.

Several features of the economic programme of the Puritan state had developed in Geneva by 1541. In the "Liberties, franchises, immunities, usages and customs" granted to Geneva by her prince bishop in 1387, the taking of interest had been recognized and protected.[3] Possibly this

[1] See "Geneva before Calvin," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Jan., 1903, pp. 221, 237–238, and notes. For Calvin's proposals and the council's votes in 1560 regarding sharper distinction between church and state see *Opera*, X, 120–123.

[2] Rousseau, *Du contrat social*, Liv. ii, ch. 7, note.

[3] The Latin text of the *franchises* of 1387 with the French translations of 1455 was published by E. Mallet in *Mémoires et documents de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève*, II, 271–399. For interest-taking, see Arts. 34, 35, 39, 77.

existing custom may have aided Calvin to see the justice of interest-taking. His attitude toward it illustrates his attitude toward the Scripture; it also illustrates the economic advantage resulting to Protestantism through a more rational use of the Bible and a revision of the canon law. Calvin took the general ground that both reason and equity were to be used in the interpretation of Scripture. The essential aim, and not the form, of a scriptural injunction should be preserved, as was the case in his interpretation of the commandment regarding the Sabbath. "God gave not that law by the hand of Moses to be promulgated among all nations, and to be universally binding; but in all the laws which he gave them he had a special regard to their circumstances."[1] Calvin, moreover, was not a literalist, but was ready to recognize and publicly point out such "errors" of fact in the Bible as the use of Jeremiah for Zechariah in Matthew 27:9;[2] the use of twenty for twenty-five (Acts 7:14, —*ex errore librariorum*); or of Abraham in Acts 7:16, where he frankly says that Luke drew upon tradition rather than upon Moses, and adds, "there is plainly a mistake, and this place should be corrected."[3] Calvin therefore found no "absolute condemnation" of interest-taking in the Scriptures; for "the law of Moses (Deut. 23:19) is political, and it constrains us no further than equity and human reason demand."[4] In accordance therefore with his general appeal to reason and equity, and his sound interpretation that the essential thing in the law was the prevention of oppression and not the prohibition of earning money through the use of money, Calvin declared that interest-taking was right and not unscriptural, provided only the interest was not unreasonable. Calvin pointed out effectively the fallacy of the barrenness of money, and showed that it was no more sinful to take interest on money than to invest the money in a house and take rent. "Calvin's teaching," says Pro-

[1] *Institutes*, *Opera*, I, 239.
[2] *Opera*, XLV, 749.
[3] *Ibid.*, XLVIII, 137, 138.
[4] *Ibid.*, X, 246, De usuris.

fessor Ashley, "was, in a very real sense, a turning-point in the history of European thought." [1] The effect of such an interpretation was of great economic importance, for it gave Calvinists who accepted it, including the two great commercial nations, the Dutch and the English, a decisive economic advantage over Catholics or Lutherans, who still clung to the canon law prohibition of interest-taking. Incidentally Calvin's interpretation illustrated his tendency toward a re-examination and a freer interpretation of Scripture and toward greater intellectual and economic freedom.

The productive power of the Puritan was increased by his attitude toward labor. The attitude of Calvin and the Puritan was like that of St. Paul, "He who will not work shall not eat." [2] Energetic and tireless himself, Calvin had no sympathy for "idle bellies who chirp sweetly in the shade." [3] Work in Geneva was obligatory six days in the week. On the 4th of June, 1537, the council took action to enforce the working part of the Fourth Commandment which they had just approved and printed in their city creed. "There was a discussion regarding the people who observe holidays, and it was voted that every one must work as already proclaimed, without observing holidays save on Sunday. This shall be proclaimed ward by ward (*dizenne*) and under penalty of fine. In case of poor people, the men shall pay three sous, the women six liards; the rich shall be fined amounts to be levied in the Little Council. The tithingmen (*dizenniers*) who deal with a man shall share in the fine." [4] In March, 1538, the councillors, as a part of their anti-clerical and anti-French policy, had insisted on the observance of the four ecclesiastical holidays desired by Bern.

[1] Calvin's letter on usury is in *Opera*, X, 245–249. Ashley, *Economic History*, II, 458–460. See also R. H. Dana, Jr., in Mass. House of Rep., Feb. 14, 1867. Reprinted in *Economic Tracts* No. IV, published by the Amer. Soc. for Political Education, 1881. See pp. 32–36, 43.

[2] See Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 429.

[3] Letter to Daniel, Geneva, Oct. 13, 1536, in *Opera*, X, ii, 64: otiosis illis ventribus, qui apud vos suaviter in umbra garriunt. Translated in Bonnet, *Letters*, I, 46.

[4] *Registres du Conseil*, XXX, fol. 248, printed in *Opera*, XXI, 211.

Calvin and Farel were ready to agree to this, "provided the somewhat imperious form of the imposition be done away with, and liberty be granted to those who wish to betake themselves to work after the sermon." [1] Here is a striking form of economic liberty—liberty to work six days in the week. Some of the extremists left behind in Geneva after Calvin's exile in April, 1538, were ready to go further than Calvin. They illustrate a later Puritan tendency to a very literal interpretation of Scripture which would regard any holiday save Sunday as unscriptural.[2] This was to out-Calvin Calvin. True to their convictions, however, these extremists refused to go to the communion on Christmas day in 1538. When summoned before the council, they justified themselves for their refusal on the ground that "it says in the commandment of God six days shalt thou labor, whereas Christmas day has been made a holiday." [3] This is probably the first example of the Puritan layman objecting to the observance of Christmas or to the imposing of a religious holiday by the action of the state. More sane and practical was the interpretation which Calvin added to his second edition of the catechism, published the year after his return to Geneva. "In what way," asks the minister, "do you understand that this commandment is given likewise for the relief of servants?" The child replies: "To give some relaxation (*relasche*) to those who are in the power of others. And this also contributes to public order. For each one gets used to working the rest of the time when there is a day of rest." [4] Spendthrifts (*dissipateurs de biens*) were one class of offenders subject to excommunication in the Confession of 1537. In

[1] Herminjard, *Correspondance*, V, 4; also in Cornelius, *Arbeiten*, p. 182, note 3. This liberty was one of the conditions which Calvin and Farel presented to the synod at Zürich as essential before they would return to Geneva.

[2] This attitude was protested against by the Bernese and Genevan ministers after Calvin's exile. See Herminjard, *Correspondance*, V, 137, and note 9; *ibid.*, pp. 137–138, for the criticism of the extremists by the Bernese and Genevan ministers.

[3] "Pource quil dist aut commandement de dieu six jour tu travallieras et que lon avoyt fayct le jour de noel feste," is the quaint entry in the Genevan *Registres du Conseil*, XXXII, fol. 255, for 27th Dec., 1538.

[4] *Opera*, V, 65.

the Ordinances of 1541 the tithing-men and other officers were charged with enforcement of laws against begging. The requirement of labor was again insisted on in 1560, in proclamations made throughout the city. Under the head of "Dissoluteness" it was ordered, "that no one be so bold or impudent as to commit fornication, get drunk, play the vagabond, or even lose his time, or lead others into dissipation; but that each one must work according to his station, under penalty of being punished by the law according to the nature of the case." [1] The Puritan state, by making the idler suffer both ecclesiastical and civil penalties, and by insisting upon labor by every one, contributed not only to its public order but to its economic efficiency. As Weber has pointed out, the Calvinist had a "calling" not merely in a religious but also in an economic sense.[2]

A study of the measures taken in Geneva would reveal a very sane and efficient care for the social welfare of the people and for sounder economic conditions. In his first edition of the *Institutes* Calvin had laid down the necessity of equitable taxation. "Taxes are not so much private revenues as the treasury of the whole people, or rather the blood of the people and aids of public necessity; to burden the people with which without cause would be tyrannical rapacity." [3] In the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 discriminating provision was made for the care of the poor and sick. The hospital was to be better maintained, and the sick were to be separated from the children and old people. Special hospitals were to be established for transients and "for those who shall seem to be worthy of special charity"; and a separate hospital was to be maintained for the pest. Provision was made for a quarterly inspection of the hospitals, and for a physician and a surgeon, in the pay of the city, charged with

[1] Proclamation of 1560, reprinted by Cazenove (Montpellier, 1879). Quoted in Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 166.

[2] M. Weber, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," in *Archiv für Socialwissenschaft und Socialpolitik*, XX; for effect of "Beruf," "calling," see p. 38 and following, and Part ii, *ibid.*, XXI, 1–110 (Tübingen, 1905).

[3] *Opera*, I, 206.

the care of the hospital and the visitation of the other sick poor throughout the city.[1] Calvin, usually at the request of the magistrates but sometimes at his own suggestion, concerned himself with the sewers of the city; the re-establishment of weaving industries, and the investigation of new methods of heating; with matrimonial questions; and with protection against fire.[2]

An appeal to sincere and deep religious feeling had a large place in the development of the profound devotion and the militant temper of the Puritan state. In recommending the training of children to lead the singing in public worship until gradually all should learn to lift their hearts to God, Calvin was working on long lines. This recommendation in the Articles of 1537 was renewed in 1538 as one of the conditions essential to his return. During the next three years, spent at Strasburg, Calvin drew up for the church of French refugees of which he was pastor an order of worship based on Bucer's modification of Schwarz' translation of the Roman Mass. After his return to Geneva Calvin modified his Strasburg liturgy, making it less Roman; omitting, for example, the promise of absolution, though retaining the striking confession of sins at the opening of the service. His other changes gave an increased importance to the singing of Psalms. The singing of a Psalm was substituted for the Commandments; and another Psalm replaced the Apostles' Creed. The Genevan liturgy was also made more adaptable by giving a place for extempore as well as prescribed form of prayer. In this Genevan liturgy of 1542 four elements of the Reformed or Puritan worship are worth noting. First, the confession of sins at the beginning of the service, drawn

[1] *Opera*, X, 23–25. A careful study of medical conditions in Geneva to the end of the 18th century has been published by Dr. Leon Gautier in the *Mém. et doc. de la Soc. d'Hist. et d'Arch. de Genève*, 2nd series, Tome X.

[2] See *Opera*, X, under the various "Ordonnances" and "Consilia," especially 125–146, 203–210, 231–266. For the new method of heating see *Opera*, XVI, 496, with sketch of furnace; see comments in Roget, *Histoire*, V, 58. See also references in Kampschulte, *Calvin*, I, 428–430; and in H. Wiskemann, *Darstellung der in Deutschland zur Zeit der Reformation herrschenden national-öconomischen Ansichten* (Leipzig, 1861), pp. 79–87.

upon by both Reformed and Anglican churches; second, the adaptability of worship to different times and places, through diplomatic omissions and through combination of free and fixed prayer; third, the provision for a deeper emotional element through music; and, fourth, the swinging militant lilt that runs through psalm and prayer. The Psalms translated by Marot, Calvin, and Beza were to prove the consolation of the persecuted, while the Psalm of Battle became the Protestant Marseillaise (as Doumergue has called it) of the victorious Huguenots. Sung in the mother tongue by all worshippers, these psalms introduced both a democratic and an emotional element greatly needed in the Protestant service as Calvin found it. In the noble prayers, there is the same militant Puritan ring that appears in the introduction to the Latin catechism of 1538 and in the psalms. The prayer after the sermon closes with a paragraph which summed up the Puritan purpose, sought the Divine aid to accomplish it, and sent out the citizens fired with a zeal to "win a complete victory." As translated by Knox in Scotland it ran thus:

> And forasmuch as of ourselves we are so weak, that we are not able to stand upright one minute of an hour, and also that we are so belaid and assaulted evermore with such a multitude of so dangerous enemies, that the devil, the world, sin, and our own concupiscences, do never leave off to fight against us: let it be Thy good pleasure to strengthen us with Thy Holy Spirit, and to arm us with Thy grace, that thereby we may be able constantly to withstand all temptations, and to persevere in this spiritual battle against sin, until such time as we shall obtain the full victory, and so at length may triumphantly rejoice in Thy Kingdom, with our Captain and Governor Jesus Christ our Lord.[1]

The Genevan liturgy was marked by a felicitous combination of simplicity and dignity, giving it a power and flexibility which led to its adoption by the Reformed churches in Geneva, Holland, France, Scotland, and by the Early

[1] Sprott and Leishman, *Book of Common Order*, pp. 96–97. The editors followed the edition of 1611, but modernized the spelling.

Puritans in England.[1] There is much in both its spirit and its form which would still be of service to many churches unaware of the richness of their own Puritan liturgical inheritance.

One other feature of the Puritan programme of worship indicates the practical attitude of mind of the Puritan in all lands and his keen interest in social welfare. To "psalms and hymns of praise, the reading of the gospel, the confession of faith," Calvin added in the communion service "holy oblations and offerings." The contribution was a part of worship. "As children of God who seek his kingdom and his justice, . . . we offer and submit ourselves entirely to God the Father and to our Lord Jesus Christ, in recognition of so many and so great benefits. And we testify this by offerings and holy gifts (as Christian charity requires) which are given to Jesus Christ through his little ones, those who hunger or thirst, or are naked, or are strangers, or sick or in prison." [2] The Puritan was a thrifty man of business, but he was also a generous benefactor. It was thoroughly characteristic of the Puritan that the University of Geneva should have been founded not only upon a public grant by a representative assembly, but also upon gifts by citizens of all classes, even by Jénon the baker woman who gave five sous.[3]

One of the fundamental characteristics of Puritan states was their care for education. In the turmoil of 1538, a few months before the exile of the preachers, there was published in Latin and French the programme of the College, or Gymnasium, in Geneva. It was probably drawn up by

[1] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, ch. xii, p. 114; *Life of Parker*, Bk. iv, ch. v, p. 325. Cf. Procter and Frere, *Hist. of Bk. of Common Prayer*, pp. 86 ff., 131–133. Calvin's *Liturgy*, or "Form of Prayers," for Geneva of 1542 is in *Opera*, VI, 173–184. Knox's translation is in various editions, most conveniently in Sprott and Leishman, *Book of Common Order of Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1868). It is also in Knox's *Works* (ed. Laing), VI, ii, pp. 293 ff.; "The Form of Prayers, etc., used in the English Church of Geneva," *ibid.*, IV, 141–214. The English Puritan's use of the "Genevan form" is commented upon by Strype in his *Life of Grindal*, p. 169, and *Life of Parker*, p. 65.

[2] The subject of Calvin's liturgy is discussed in Doumergue, *Calvin*, II, 479–524, with bibliography; and is briefly summed up in Walker's *Calvin*, pp. 222–226.

[3] Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 35.

Antoine Saunier, the prefect, and reviewed by Calvin and Maturin Cordier. In general it followed the two leading ideas of Sturm, the development of knowledge conducive to piety and the gradation of the school into classes. But the object of the school was not simply the preservation of the church but also "political administration and the maintenance of humanity among men." There is a modern and practical tendency noticeable in the provision for a living language, French, "which is by no means to be despised," and for the "art of arithmetic, that is, numbering, figuring, and calculating." Exercises began at five, stopped at ten for dinner, and continued in the afternoon. Place was found in the daily programme for the repetition of the three documents on which the *Institutes*, the Confession, and the Catechism were based (the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed), and for a chapter in the Bible, all in French. As especial inducements at Geneva, the circular pointed out the frequent disputations on the Christian religion, five sermons on the pure Word of God on Sunday and two on each week-day, with "the hours so distributed that one may easily attend all the sermons one after the other"—a Puritan total of seventeen possible sermons a week! The logical necessity for education in a Biblical commonwealth is recognized in the closing paragraphs of the circular: "Although we defer primarily to the Word of God, we do not reject good training (*bonas disciplinas*), which rightly occupies second place. For these two things work together best when united in this order, so that the Word of God is the foundation of all knowledge, and the liberal arts are props and aids to the full knowledge of the Word, and not to be despised." [1]

On his recall to Geneva, Calvin included in the Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541 a definition of the work of the

[1] The Latin text of the "Programme" of Jan. 12, 1538, is printed in Herminjard, *Correspondance*, IV, 455–460. It was printed in French at the same time, and reprinted by Bétant in 1866. See also Buisson, *Castellion*, I, 145–149; Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 16–18.

"teachers" (*docteurs*), who were to form the second order of church officers. That part of their function which was related most closely to the government of the church consisted in lecturing on theology based on both the Old and New Testaments. "But since one cannot profit by such studies unless he be first instructed in languages and human sciences, and since also there is need of preserving the seed for the future in order that the church may not be left naked to our children, it will be necessary to organize a college for instructing the children in order to prepare them for both the ministry and the civil government." This paragraph is instinct with the thought, and almost the phraseology, which later found expression in the words of the author of *New England's First Fruits* and in the New England statutes regarding education. The Ordinances went on to indicate the steps which should be taken. There should be a place suitable for instruction and for the residence of children and others who may wish to profit by it; a man fit to manage both the house and the teaching; lectures in languages and dialectic; and bachelors for teaching the small children. There should be no other school for the children, save that the girls should have their school apart as heretofore. "All those who shall be there shall be subject to the ecclesiastical discipline as the ministers are." This subjected teachers as well as pastors to a very severe system of discipline, either at the hands of the consistory, with final report to the council, or directly at the hands of the council if the crime were punishable by the civil law. The ministers were to meet weekly for conference on the Scripture to preserve purity of doctrine, and quarterly to remedy any other offences among them. A formidable list of some thirty-four offences was included for which a minister might be tried, eighteen "utterly intolerable crimes," and sixteen vices which could be met through "fraternal admonitions." To all these provisions the teaching force was to be subjected. To this the council made no objection, though it had already so modi-

fied Calvin's proposals for discipline of all ministers (including the teachers) as to reserve to itself the final decision in all cases. On one point, however, the council modified Calvin's statement regarding the teachers. This was as to their election. The council was unwilling to leave this to the ministers, but provided for the council's co-operation before, after, and during the examination of candidates. To the development of the college thus outlined in 1541 Calvin gave much thought and time. The culmination of the Puritan intellectual programme for Geneva, the establishment of a university with fully organized higher instruction, was delayed until 1559, when Geneva, in the words of the scholarly historian of its University, became "a church, a school, and a fortress." [1]

These early years of the work of Calvin and Geneva, from 1536 to 1541, cover only the beginning of the programme for a Puritan state; not its realization, nor all its phases, nor its limitations. Another generation was to witness the victorious outcome of the long and bitter fight to carry out the plan of campaign of the church and state militant. Yet the beginning of the struggle reveals the tendencies which ultimately worked out those by-products of the Puritan state which the modern world regards among its dearest possessions, civil and religious liberty, economic efficiency, and sound learning.

Even in its own day, the early Puritan programme, by its insistent emphasis on moral obligation and moral training, economic efficiency, sound learning, the freedom of the church, and the preservation of liberty through law, bred a militant temper, ready to "hazard life for the sovereignty of God and the Word of God," and a moral vigor and political insight fit to cope with the moral indifference and the political absolutism which threatened the age of Machiavelli, Rabelais, and Philip II.

[1] Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 83.

THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF CALVINISTS BEFORE THE PURITAN EXODUS TO AMERICA[1]

"IN our account of these sons of Geneva, we will begin with the father of the faithful; faithful, I mean, to their old antimonarchical doctrines and assertions; and that is, the great mufti of Geneva, who in the fourth book of his Institutions, chapter 20, section 31, has the face to own such doctrine to the world as this." [2] In such wise, a royalist sermon of 1663 introduced the famous section from Calvin's *Institutes* containing the germ of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance to tyranny through the people's representatives. In the Elizabethan English of Norton's translation, familiar to English, Scottish, and American readers from the Reformation to the American Revolution, Calvin's pregnant sentences ran thus:

Though the correcting of unbridled government be the revengement of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whome there is given no other commaundment but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of private men. For if there be at this time any magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time were the Ephori, that were set against the Kinges of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against the Romane Consuls: or the Demarchy, against the Senate of Athenes: and the same power also which peradventure as things are nowe the three estates have in everie realme when they hold their principall assemblies) I doe so not forbid them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousness of kinges: that I affirme that if they winke at kinges wilfully raging over and treading downe the poor communaltie, their dissembling is not without wicked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.[3]

[1] Reprinted from *American Historical Review*, April, 1916.

[2] Robert South, *Sermons* (1856 ed.), I, 470 ff., quoting or misquoting Calvin, Beza, Knox, Buchanan, Pareus.

[3] *Calvini Opera* (ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss), I, 247–248; *Institutes*, IV, xx, 31.

Calvin's *Institutes*, containing this theory of constitutional resistance through representative magistrates, remained for centuries a standard book among Protestants. Probably no other theological work was so widely read and so influential from the Reformation to the American Revolution. At least seventy-four editions in nine languages, besides fourteen abridgments, appeared before the Puritan exodus to America, an average of one edition annually for three generations.[1] Huguenots, Scots, Dutchmen, Walloons, Palatines, and other Germans, and an overwhelming majority of the American colonists of the seventeenth century were bred on its strong political theories as well as on the strong meat of its theology. In England the *Institutes* was considered "the best and perfectest system of divinity" by both Anglican and Puritan, until Laud's supremacy.[2] In 1578 (with Calvin's Catechism) it was required of Oxford undergraduates. Curious witness to its grip upon men was borne by Laud in 1636. Admitting that the *Institutes* "may profitably be read as one of their first books of divinity," Laud secretly endeavored to dissuade New College students from reading it "so soon." "I am afraid it . . . doth too much possess their judgments . . . and makes many of them humorous in, if not against the church." [3]

In Scotland the passage quoted from Calvin's *Institutes* was cited in defense of Mary's deposition, by Knox and the commissioners to Elizabeth. In England not only Cartwright and the other authors of the *Admonition to Parliament* but also their opponent Whitgift and even the Anglican Elborow as late as 1636 utilized the authority of the *Institutes*. Quoted by widely read New England Puritans, like Governor Bradford, Cotton, Hooker, Roger Williams, Jonathan Edwards, and by Puritan preachers before Parliament during the Civil War, and controverted by Royalists later in the century, it

[1] *Calvini Opera*, LIX, 461–512; *British Museum Catalogue; Stationers' Registers.*
[2] Bishop Sanderson (Charles I's chaplain), *Works*, I, 297.
[3] Wood, *Annals*, I, 193; Laud, *Remains*, II, 82.

continued to be spread in the eighteenth century through numerous citations in the popular Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, which went through fifty-nine editions in seven languages by 1759. Men of a somewhat different sort were probably influenced, directly or indirectly, through the citations by a remarkable list of men widely read and quoted in Europe and America—"the judicious Hooker," Milton, Harrington, Sidney, Locke, and Rousseau. The demand for the *Institutes* in English translation is suggested by the nine editions before the Civil War (and apparently about ten between 1763 and 1863, six of these being American editions); and further by its appearance in the London *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books*, 1655, 1657, and the *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books in England*, 1657, 1658.[1]

Of some work of Calvin at least 435 editions appeared before the founding of New England, an average of one every ten weeks. Most colonial libraries seem to contain some work by Calvin and scarcely a colonial list of books from New Hampshire to South Carolina appears to lack books written by Calvinists.[2]

[1] In days when books were few and usually read if bought, familiarity with the *Institutes* is suggested by its presence in scores of libraries including those of Mirabeau, the archbishops of Canterbury, English universities and colleges, three Anglican colonial foundations, five Lancashire churches, the most influential Puritan divines English and American, three colonial colleges and three college presidents, governors, men of affairs, signers of the Declaration of Independence, members of national and state constitutional conventions, physicians, college students, farmers, and dozens of kinds of artisans and tradesmen, including innkeepers, excisemen, and tobacconists. See printed book-lists (sometimes incomplete) of the following colonial owners of *Institutes:* Reverend John Goodborne (Virginia); Brewster, Winthrop, Harvard, Samuel Lee, Rowland Cotton, Prince, King's Chapel (Massachusetts); President Langdon of Harvard, Nathaniel Rogers (both Portsmouth, N. H.); Rensselaerswyck, Widow Bronck (New Netherland); Harvard, Yale, Princeton; Redwood (Newport); Logan (Philadelphia); Edenton (North Carolina). Manuscript lists: Dr. James Walker (Baltimore); Presidents Wheelock (Dartmouth), Witherspoon (Princeton). Identified by autograph: John Fiske, John Sewall, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Ward, Thomas Wallcutt, Jonathan Heskins, Benjamin Gillam, Ezra Thompson (Harvard, 1755). John Ledyard (Dartmouth) quoted Calvin against Wheelock. There is a significant list of 73 occupations of subscribers to the Glasgow edition of *Institutes* (1762). The section quoted is frequently underlined or annotated, the copy in the Archbishop of Canterbury's library having five significant annotations.

[2] Of 52 lists examined, covering all colonies save Delaware and Georgia and including Anglican collections, only one lacks books by Calvinists—Sir Kenelm Digby's gift to Harvard, and Digby was not a colonist.

Calvin's teaching of constitutional resistance to tyranny logically followed his fundamental premises of the absolute sovereignty of God and the "Word of God"; for that absolute authority limited all "earthly princes" and made both king and representative magistrate "responsible to God and men." Calvin moreover pictured that "singular and truly sovereign power of God" not as "idly beholding from Heaven," "but as holding the helm of the universe." [1]

Calvin's teaching of the "breach of faith" by the representative magistrates, if they "betray the libertie of the people, whereof they knowe themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinaunce of God," was within a year followed by the enforcement in Geneva of another fundamental tenet of Calvinists—a covenant. The Genevan Confession of 1537, submitted by Calvin and Farel, was a religious rather than a political covenant. But a civil ordinance commanded under pain of exile "all burghers, inhabitants and subjects to swear to guard and observe" this creed-covenant, which included the ten commandments, and emphasized morals more than theology. This creed-covenant was moreover defended by Calvin on the basis of the covenants made by the Israelites under Moses, Josiah, Asa, and "the admirable defenders of liberty, Ezra and Nehemiah," examples constantly cited by Calvinists in their political covenants for a century to come.[2]

After seven years' experience in Switzerland and Germany Calvin advocated as the best form of government "either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy" such as "the Lord established among the people of Israel." [3] Sixteen more years' observation of the "imperfections of men" led the ripened statesman to advocate constitutional goverment (*politia*) "in the hands of many . . . so that if any one arrogate to himself more than is

[1] *Institutes*, IV, xx, 32; I, xvi, 4, 7; xviii, 1; III, x, 6; I, xvii, 4; *Comm. Romans*, xiii, 4.
[2] *Opera*, V, 319 ff.; XXI, 206 ff.
[3] *Institutes* (1543), xx, 7; *Opera*, I, 1105.

right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition." [1] This "mixture of aristocracy and democracy" was the form of government in most Calvinistic industrial communities and self-governing commonwealths. Such representative government was regularly exemplified in their churches and logically advocated for the state. A striking example illustrates this chain of religious-political Calvinistic influence. Thomas Cartwright during his exile taught theology in Geneva and before leaving obtained permission to attend the consistory in order to report to England upon the Genevan representative church government. Immediately on his return to England he advocated in his *Admonition to Parliament* a like system of representative government in the Church, and then maintained that the State should follow the Church's model. Cartwright's reasoning, often quoted approvingly by Hooker of Connecticut to Cotton of Massachusetts, was requoted by Cotton to Say and Sele in England.

Calvin himself, toward the end of his career, advocated in theory and practice representative government "by common consent" in both Church and State as the "best condition by far"; "and even when men become kings by hereditary right this does not seem consistent with liberty." [2]

Before his death Calvin had combined the theory of constitutional resistance through divinely ordained representatives with two other Calvinistic theories, that of a compact and that of a fundamental written law.

Inasmuch as kings and princes pledge their faith to the people by an oath, it is fair to ask, if they break faith, whether the people may not themselves consult together and apply a fit remedy. The question is certainly difficult and it would not be convenient or

[1] *Institutes* (definitive edition, 1559), IV, xx, 8; *Opera*, II, 1098; IV, 1134. Henry VIII, Mary, and the German princes exemplify tyranny necessitating restraint. *Comm. Hosea*, i; *Amos*, vii, 13, where Calvin is cited by Pareus, in turn followed by Knight.

[2] *Comm. Micah*, v, 5; *Opera*, XLIII, 374. Recommendations to Genevan Council, *Opera*, X, 120, note; Foster, "Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva," *Harvard Theological Review*, I, 423–424 (1908).

expedient to discuss it now; for we see many seeking opportunity for innovations and allowing too great changes. Subjects themselves may not rebel against even tyrannical rulers. . . . Nevertheless, certain remedies against tyranny are allowable, for example when magistrates and estates have been constituted, to whom has been committed the care of the commonwealth: they shall have power to keep the prince to his duty and even to coerce him if he attempt anything unlawful.[1]

Samuel's "reading to the people and recording in a book" "the law of the kingdom," in order to show "the mutual obligation of head and members," Calvin recommends as an example; "for every commonwealth rests upon laws and agreements . . . by which as by a bridle each is held to his calling." He advocates written statutes that "recourse may be had to the written law." [2] The *lex scripta* he describes as "nothing but an attestation of the *lex naturae*, whereby God brings back to memory what has already been imprinted on our hearts." [3]

From Calvin's premises of the supreme authority of God and his Word, we find him then developing these permanent contributions to political theory and practice. The absolute supremacy of God and of his Word ("obey God rather than man") demands not passive but active resistance. This resistance is not the privilege of private individuals but the obligation of divinely ordained representatives "responsible to God and the people," such as councillors, estates, or parliaments. Such resistance is constitutional, rational, and orderly because based on and tested by three things greatly emphasized by Calvin and his disciples: (1) a written religious document, "the open Word of God," to be interpreted with "equity and reason"; (2) a political covenant or compact, preferably written, for example a coronation

[1] *Homilia I Sam.*, viii; *Opera*, XXIX, 552, 557.

[2] *Ibid.*, ch. x, pp. 636–637; Sidney, *Government*, ch. iii, sect. I, discusses the same passage. Cf. *Institutes*, IV, xx, 29.

[3] *Comm. Psalms*, cxix, 52; *Opera*, XXXII, 236. Cf. *Opera*, XXVII, 568; XXVI, 674; XXXIV, 504; XXVIII, 63.

oath; (3) some form of fundamental law, *lex naturae*, *principes d'équité*, or *quelque semence de droicture*.

Calvin's followers, usually accustomed to some form of representative government—local or national—and to written charters, and trained still further by their representative system of church discipline and government, exhibited the Calvinistic spirit of "going forward [*cheminer*] each according to his station and employing faithfully for the maintenance of the republic whatever God has given them." [1] They therefore developed his theories, further combined them on the basis of growing experience, incorporated them into public law, and proved them practicable. In the Biblical commonwealth of Geneva, citizen and refugee were profoundly convinced of the righteousness of the Calvinistic theories. When a domineering military officer, opponent of Calvin's policy, attempted to wrest from a Genevan syndic his staff of office, the magistrate replied: "This staff has been given me not by you but by God and the people, to whom I shall return it and not to you." [2] The little republic of Geneva, bred upon Calvin's *Institutes*, catechism, and consistory, itself was a striking and influential exemplification of the successful embodiment of Calvin's political theories into what we may venture to call the first Puritan state. "Let not Geneva be forgotten or despised. Religious liberty owes it much respect, Servetus notwithstanding," wrote the second President of the United States.[3]

In 1556 Ponet, exiled bishop of Winchester, a Calvinist, and apparently a member of the English congregation at Geneva, published his *Politike Power*, which John Adams declared contained "all the essential principles of liberty which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke." [4]

[1] Calvin's farewell to Genevan magistrates, *Opera*, IX, 889–890.
[2] Bonivard, *Advis* (ed. 1865), p. 139.
[3] John Adams, marginal note in his "Discourses on Davila," *Works*, VI, 313. *The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva*, translated from original documents, went through three editions at significant epochs, 1562, 1643, 1659. The number of famous men who studied in Geneva, the important books published there, and the friendly and hostile citations of Geneva's example are almost innumerable.
[4] Adams, *Works*, VI, 4.

"God is the power of powers. All other powers are but his ministers." "Men ought not to obeie their superiours that shall comaunde them to doo anything against Goddes Word, or the lawes of nature," "Goddes lawes, by which name also the lawes of nature be comprehended." "Kings may not make laws without consent of people," nor "dispense with them." "As among the Lacedemonians certain men called Ephori were ordayned to see that the kinges should not oppresse the people, and among the Romaynes the Tribunes were ordayned to defende and mayntene the libertie of the people . . . so in all Christian realmes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the heads . . . should not oppresse the poore people . . . and make their willes their lawes . . . in Fraunce and Englande parliamentes"; the paragraph closely follows Calvin's *Institutes*. "Kings, though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres, nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people," phrases which passed as coin of the realm among Calvinists of two continents and three centuries. Ponet goes further than Calvin. He maintains that "princes abusing their office may be deposed by the body of the whole congregacion or commonwealthe." He even permits tyrannicide, "wher just punishment is either by the hole state utterly neglected, or the prince with the nobilitie and counsall conspire its subversion," provided "any private man have some surely proved mocion of God."[1]

In 1558 three pastors and one elder of "the Englishe Churche and Congregation at Geneva" (three at least being translators of the Genevan version of the Bible) printed there eight political addresses to England and Scotland. Christopher Goodman's *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed and wherein they may lawfully by God's Worde be disobeyed and resisted* (which Calvin pronounced "somewhat harsh" and to "be handled with caution," yet "admitted

[1] *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (eds. of 1556 and 1642 in the Library of Congress), chs. iv, ii, i, vi.

to be true")[1] advocates resistance on the basis of the supremacy of God's laws, responsibility of representatives, and a mutual covenant. "You promised obedience to your Superiors, that they might helpe you," "to defend God's Lawes." "If they will do so, and keep promise with you accordinge to their office, then do you owe unto them all humble obedience: If not, you are discharged, and no obedience belongeth to them: because they are not obedient to God."[2] This passage Milton quotes in his *Tenure of Kings*. Goodman, like Ponet and Melville, asserts that the people were not "created of God to serve their kinges," but "their kinges appoynted of God to preserve his people, whereof they are but a portion and a member."[3] Like Ponet, Goodman takes a step beyond Calvin in maintaining that "it apperteyneth not onely to the Magistrates and al other inferior officers to see that their Princes be subject to Gods Lawes, but to the common people also."[4]

John Knox's letter of 1558 "To the Commonalty of Scotland" likewise desired not only the "Estates and Nobilitie" but also "the Communaltie, my Brethren," to "compell your Byshoppes and Clergie to cease their tyrannie and answer by the scriptures of God."[5] From Calvinistic premises, including Asa's covenant, Knox draws two Calvinistic conclusions: "the first, That no idolatour can be exempted from punishment by Goddes Law. The seconde is, That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others, that tuche the Majestie of God, dothe not appertaine to kinges and chefe rulers only, but also to the whole bodie of that people, and to every membre of the same, *according to the vocation of everie man, and according to that possibilitie and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done his glorie*."[6] "Moste justely may the same men depose and punishe him that unadvysedly before they did electe."[7]

[1] Goodman to Martyr, *Original Letters, 1537–1558* (Parker Soc.), II, 771.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 189. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 149. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 146.
[5] *Works* (ed. Laing), IV, 524. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 501, *Appellation*, italics added.
[7] P. 540, *Second Blast*. Milton's *Tenure of Kings* cites Knox's *Appellation, Second*

Within a year, armed with the "judgementis of Mr. Calvin and the leirnit in uther Kirkis," Knox headed a successful application of his Calvinistic "Blasts" from Geneva. In urging the deposition of the Queen Regent, "The Bretherin of the Christiane Congregatioun" of Scotland affirm, that "to brydill the fury and raige of Princeis in free kingdomes and realmeis . . . appertenis to the Nobilitie, sworne and borne Counsallouris of the same, and allsua to the Barronis and Pepill, quhais voteis . . . ar to be requyreit in all greit and wechty materis of the communwelth." [1]

The Regent's deposition is the earliest and most striking example of an application of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance. The responsible representatives justified themselves by God's "moist sacrat worde," the "judgement of the Preachearis" (Knox and Willok), the "lawis of the realme," their own "oath," the covenant involved in the "contentis of the Appointment of Marriage," and the Regent's attempts "to suppresse the liberties of our commoun-weall." [2]

In a "reassonyng betwix the Quene and Johne Knox," four years later, he declared Her Majesty and her subjects bound "by *mutuall contract*. Thei are bound to obey you, and that not but in God. Ye ar bound to keape lawis unto thame." [3] In the famous debate before the General Assembly the following year, Knox, basing his argument upon the scriptural examples utilized by Calvinists, "maintained" (as Milton quotes him in his *Tenure of Kings*) "that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgment upon their king." The "vote and consience" of Craig, Knox's fellow-minister, was "that Princes ar nocht onlie bound to keip lawis and promeisses to thair subjectis, but also, that in caise thai faill, thay justlie may be deposeit; *for the band betwix the Prince and the Peopill is reciproce*." [4] The phrases

Blast, and three other pamphlets published in the same year by Calvin's and Knox's colleagues, Goodman, Gilby, and Whittingham.

[1] Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, *Works*, I, 411.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 424, 432, 442–443, 448, 450.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 372.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 434–461, especially 458. Craig's views are quoted in Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sect. 35.

italicized are combined in the General Assembly's resolution three years later, requiring kings to promise to defend "the true religioun . . . as they are obliged . . . in the law of God . . . in the ellevint cheptoure of the seccund buke of the Kinges, and as thei craif obedience of thair subjectis sua the *band and contract to be mutuale and reciproque* in all tymes cuming betuix the prince and God and his faithful people according to the word of God."

Parliament in 1567 enacted as law the religious assembly's resolution; justified the enforced "demission" of Queen Mary; "authorisit" the Confession of Faith "as a doctrine groundit upon the infallible word of God"; and "annullit al actis not agreeing with Godis word, and now contrare to the Confession of faith according to the said worde." Within nine years Knox's application of the Calvinistic theories of the sovereignty of God and his word, the duty of constitutional resistance through a representative body, justified by mutual contract and fundamental law, had been incorporated into public law in Scotland.[1]

Evidence of Calvinistic and Genevan influence upon Scotland is found in the *Acts of Parliament and Assembly*, the Confession of Faith, the Genevan order of worship, and the "Buke of Discipline" 's system of church government by representative laymen. It is also testified to directly. The assembly desired the judgment of Calvin upon resistance to rulers. Knox affirmed that he had "heard the judgementis" and "come nocht to this Realme without."[2] "A written defence of the Scotch presented to Queen Elizabeth," quoted by von Raumer, mentions the approval of Calvin and Melanchthon.[3]

Through the marginal notes of four Calvinistic versions

[1] *Acts of the General Assembly* (Bannatyne Club ed.), I, 109; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, III, 11–12, 14, 23–24, 39.

[2] *Works*, II, 459–461.

[3] *Contributions to Modern History, from British Museum and State Paper Office, Elizabeth and Mary*, p. 152. Throckmorton to Elizabeth (*Cal. State Papers, Scotland*, 1547–1603, II, 355) mentioned the influence of Knox, Craig, Scripture, the laws of the realm, and the coronation oath.

of the Bible, teachings of covenant obligation to constitutional resistance passed into the political thought of two continents. The Genevan version, "the common Bible of the people and even of scholars" for three-quarters of a century, went through over one hundred editions before 1617. On this "Breeches Bible" were bred Shakespeare and the founders of the American colonies and the English Commonwealth.[1] Scores of marginal notes on covenant, vocation, rights of the "congregation," deposition of kings, the supremacy of God's Word, and the duty of orderly resistance to tyranny, appear in the Genevan version, Junius and Tremellius's *Biblia Sacra*, Beza's Latin text of the New Testament (in its eighty-eight editions before 1640, common property in Continental, English, and colonial libraries), and in the *Annotations* by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Such widespread sanction for Calvinistic political theories through the Bibles in the homes of scholar and common man enormously enhanced the appeal of Calvinistic writers and preachers in France, Holland, the Palatinate, Scotland, England, and America.

The Calvinistic theory and practice of constitutional resistance to tyranny, especially as exemplified in Scotland, was formulated in the *History of Scotland*, and in the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) by Buchanan, a Calvinistic scholar in politics, who was moderator of the General Assembly which demanded Mary's "demission" and a "mutual and reciprocal contract" between prince and people, and who also aided in the indictment of Mary before Elizabeth.

Buchanan, like Ponet, considers the moral law of Scripture "an explanation" of the "law of nature," and the Golden Rule "a kind of abridgment of this law." People have a right of choosing whom they will as kings and are paramount to them. "Law paramount to the kings" "should be

[1] Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 140; Cotton, *Editions of the Bible*; Carter, *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, whose conclusions Lee accepts.

made by representatives." In a passage like Calvin's, arguing from the power of "the tribunes of the people at Rome or the Ephori at Sparta," Buchanan asks, "why should any man think it iniquitous, in a free people, to adopt in a similar, or even a different manner, prospective remedies for checking the enormities of tyranny?" He "upholds the social compact." [1] "A mutual compact subsists between a king and his subjects"; and he who "acts in opposition to compacts dissolves them" and "forfeits whatever rights belonged by agreement to him." [2]

Within a year after the "Bretherin of the Christiane Congregatioun," on the advice of the preachers, had urged the councillors and estates of Scotland to "brydill" the queen mother, a Calvinistic Huguenot national synod of 1560 presented a similar memorial to the Estates of France. On the ground that "there will otherwise be no Security for the performance of any Contracts and Ordinances that may pass between the King and his subjects," the Estates were asked to declare that under a queen mother and a minor king "none other but the States of the Kingdom can nominate . . . Counsellors of State," and that, until so constituted, the Estates would "not propose or answer anything," but would "appeal unto the next Assembly of the States." [3]

The Huguenot churches, organized in 1559, rapidly developed a local and national representative system through local consistory, district colloquy, provincial assembly, and national synod. The synods especially developed marvellous efficiency, and eventually assumed nearly all the distinctive functions of a state—financial, military, administrative, legislative—and were sometimes called "États Généraux."

[1] *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, pp. 94; 99, 177, 118; 158, 184; 176; 188.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 196. Cf. *Rerum Scot. Hist.*, xx, 37. In America, Knox's *History* appears in at least seven colonial libraries, being listed as "frequentiorem in usum" in a Harvard catalogue of 1773. Buchanan's books have been found in fifteen: Harvard (1723, 1790), Prince, John Adams, Yale, Redwood, Providence, New York Society Library, Logan, Library Company of Philadelphia, Princeton, Witherspoon, Dr. Walker, Nathaniel Taylor, Byrd, and Charleston.

[3] Quick, *Synodicon . . . or Acts of Reformed Churches of France*, I, 12–13.

In 1594 the Huguenots closely followed their ecclesiastical model in the organization of their political national assembly based upon provincial assemblies and colloquies.[1]

> They have begun to spread among the populace the idea that the King has his authority from the people, and that the subject is not obliged to obey the Prince when he commands anything which is not to be found in the New Testament. And they are on the highroad to reduce that province to the condition of a democratic state like Switzerland,

wrote the Venetian Suriano.[2]

In 1573 two Huguenot exiles in Geneva, Hotman and Beza, talked over the situation after St. Bartholomew, and produced two books advocating more radical theories than Calvin's. The *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, for eleven years teacher or professor of law in Geneva, "distinctly proves" (asserted Sidney), on historical and legal grounds, that in France "the people (that is the assembly of the estates) had entire power both of electing and deposing their kings."[3]

"This great liberty of holding general assemblies for counsel is a part of the law of nations [*droit des gens*]." Kings who "suppress this holy and sacred liberty should no longer be considered kings but tyrants."[4] As precedents for controlling kings, Hotman repeatedly cites the ephors, and, like Calvin, Knox, Buchanan, and Beza, combines the ideas of representative responsibility and mutual covenant.[5] As a striking instance of the latter he cites, as did Beza and Mornay, the oath of the kings of Aragon.[6] "The king and

[1] Records of synods in Quick. Assembly 1594, in Anquez, *Hist. Ass. Polit. Réf. de France*, pp. 62–66 (*cf.* pp. ix, x, 445); Corbière, *De l'Organisation Politique du Parti Protestant;* and Doumergue, *L'Origine de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, pp. 26–27.

[2] Whitehead, *Coligny*, p. 302.

[3] *France-Gaule*, ch. x, p. 422ro, in [Goulart], *Mémoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles Neufiesme* (1578), II, 375–482. Molesworth's translation (1711) abbreviates and omits. Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii, sect. xxx.

[4] Hotman, pp. 428vo–429.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 455vo, 427vo, 468vo.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 428vo; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats sur leurs Sujets* (in *Mémoires de France sous Charles IX*, II, 483vo–522ro), p. 504; Stephen, *State Trials*, I, 108 ff.; Ezra Stiles, *Election Sermon* (ed. 1785), p. 90.

his kingdom are necessarily bound up with each other, by a mutual respect and reciprocal obligation." "As the tutor is ordained for the pupil," "so the people is not created and made subject for the sake of the king, but rather the king is established for the sake of the people." "For the people can well exist without a king; but one could not find or even imagine a king who could subsist without people." Beza and Sidney, an admirer of Hotman, both draw like conclusions. The term *Maiesté* (which Gierke asserts that Althusius was the first to apply to the people) Hotman, a generation earlier, said "had its proper seat in the solemn assembly of the Estates," which he identified with the people.[1]

The *Franco-Gallia* follows Calvin's *Institutes* in picturing the "easy lapse" from royalty to tyranny and the necessity of constitutional restraint through representatives of the people. Reference to Calvin was dangerous in France, therefore Plato is given as author of the sentiment. Plato however taught that tyranny springs from democracy.[2] Finally, to his other Calvinistic remedies against tyranny, the Huguenot lawyer adds the supreme visible authority of "la parole de Dieu." [3]

The *Franco-Gallia* was widely read and Hotman's influence is directly traceable among Huguenots, Puritans, and liberals.[4]

Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*, shown to Hotman and written simultaneously with the *Franco-Gallia* in 1573, thus develops Calvinistic premises and conclusions.[5]

"There is no other will but God's alone which is perpetual

[1] Hotman, pp. 451vo, 422ro, 424ro, 454; Gierke, *Althusius* (1902), p. 144.

[2] *Institutes*, IV, xx, 8, 31; Hotman, p. 384ro; Plato, *Republic*, VIII, 562 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht und Mornay's Vindiciae*, p. 38.

[3] Hotman, p. 482vo.

[4] Direct evidence in Beza's *Droit des Magistrats;* Milton's *Defensio Prima* (1651), p. 212; *Defensio Secunda*; Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii, sect. xxx; Thomas Hollis, *Memoirs*, II, appendix. Selden quotes Hotman 25 times in notes on Drayton, *Polyolbion*. Mirabeau owned the *Memoirs*, containing *France-Gaule*.

[5] Beza, *Du Droit des Magistrats*. Cartier, in *Bull. Soc. d'Hist. de Genève* (1900), II^2, 187–206, established from the archives Beza's authorship. Twelve editions in French or Latin (*De Jure Magistratuum*) appeared by 1608.

and immutable, the principle of all justice." Princes are to be obeyed if they do not violate "the first table of the law of God," or "what one owes to his neighbor according to his vocation public or private." "Peoples . . . are more ancient than their magistrates, and consequently the people are not created for their magistrates, but on the contrary the magistrates for the people; as the tutor for the pupil." [1] Tyrants "are not legitimate kings," and therefore "should be opposed by all." Beza cannot "condemn all tyrannicides without exception." Though private individuals should seek remedy "through their lawful magistrates," "if the magistrate fails to do his duty, then each private individual should with all his power maintain the lawful status of his country, to which, after God, everyone owes his allegiance, against him who is not his magistrate since he wishes to usurp or has usurped domination in violation of law." [2]

Though he here goes beyond Calvin, Beza's characteristic appeal is to the responsible authorities. He urges the duty of everyone to co-operate in securing "the common lawful assembly" and the enforcement ("by those whose function it is, *when God gives them power*") of "the compacts and edicts already lawfully granted." Beza here advocates precisely what the Huguenots to his knowledge (not improbably with his advice) had been attempting through both civil and church officers, namely, functional responsibility, and insistence on rights guaranteed to Huguenots by royal edicts.[3]

"There exists a *mutuelle obligation* between king and magistrate": each is bound by oath to see that the other does not violate "certain conditions." If the king "manifestly violates the conditions on which he has been accepted," the magistrates are "freed from their oath, at least so far as to be justified in opposing the manifest oppression of the

[1] Beza, pp. 483–484, 487ro; cf. above, Hotman, p. 454ro.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 488vo–490ro.
[3] Cf. Beza, pp. 491ro–493vo, 496, 513ro, 520vo–521ro, with *Hist. Ecclés.*, III, 298–311, 202 ff., and *Mémoires Charles IX*, II, 139–140, 360–369.

kingdom they have sworn to defend, according to their calling and particular function." "The nations, so far as justice and equity have prevailed, have neither created nor accepted their kings save on certain conditions; if these are manifestly violated, it follows that those who had the power to grant kings such authority have no less power to deprive them of it." [1] This power lies especially with the "Estates or others ordained to serve as bridle to sovereigns"; "and those whose duty it is can and should take it in hand, if they do not wish to violate the oath they have taken to God and their country." [2]

Beza significantly joins together "God and the Estates" as charged with the deposing of kings; maintains that "the Estates are above kings"; and denies that subjects "break faith when each within the limits of his vocation hinders the course of tyranny." He appeals to *droit de nature, generale et universelle equite*, and *droit de gens* as fundamental law.[3] Proceeding then from the sovereignty of God and the law of God, Beza, Calvin's colleague and successor, develops these theories: (1) the sovereignty of the people represented by their estates and elective magistrates; (2) the responsibility of these representatives to God and the people; (3) the mutual compact of king and representatives; (4) the subjection of both to fundamental law; (5) the consequent obligation of constitutional resistance to tyranny.

The influence of Beza was enormous. His writings were quoted or his counsel directly asked by Huguenots, Dutch, Germans, Scots, English Puritans, and American colonists. The bitter criticisms of him and his "Genevian ideas" witness his authority. Whitgift complained to Beza of his attempts in England and Scotland, through seven different publications, to "obtrude the Geneva discipline upon all churches and . . . bring back . . . a Democracy." [4] On an average, one edition of his Latin Testament, teaching

[1] Beza, pp. 493vo, 496vo.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 496vo, 511ro.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 511ro–515vo.
[4] Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 405.

political Calvinism through its annotations, appeared annually, and some one of his works in English dress semi-annually, for a half-century. A fresh edition of Beza and Marot's Psalms, made more inspiring by their militant music, appeared every three weeks for four years.[1]

Le Politique, Dialogue . . . de l'Authorité des Princes et de la Liberté des Peuples illustrates the familiar Calvinistic theories in many anonymous Huguenot pamphlets appearing after St. Bartholomew. "Every power is of God"; the "people's deputies," or "ephors," "established by God and nature" (who have received the oath of kings to obey the laws, and who have made and may unmake kings), are in duty bound to fulfill their function and prevent tyranny if the king violates his oath, the laws he has covenanted to keep, the edicts he has granted, or the "sovereign law of God and nature." [2]

In 1579 another Huguenot, Mornay, author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, starts with the Calvinistic reasoning: "Since the will of God alone is always just and that of man may very often be unjust, who doubts that it is necessary to obey God always, without exception . . . and kings, subject to exception, *i. e.*, provided they do not command anything against the law of God." [3] The king may be punished by "the whole people to whom the king swears and obligates himself no less than the people does to the king." In proof of this he cites the example of Josiah (quoted by Calvin, Knox, and the Scots), and agrees with Calvin, Beza, the Genevan version's marginal note on II Kings, xi, 17, and

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat.; Stat. Reg.;* Douen, *Psautier Huguenot*, I, 561–563. In the colonies Beza's works appear in the libraries of at least four colleges, of three college presidents who exercised marked political influence, and of eleven other individuals or institutions. Stiles quotes Beza on Aragon oath. Cf. p. 90 note 6.

[2] In *Mémoires Charles IX*, III, especially pp. 81ro–95ro.

[3] *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos;* French edition (1581), *De la Puissance Légitime du Prince, etc., par Estienne Junius Brutus*, p. 15. Mornay's authorship, shown by Lossen and Waddington, substantiated by Elkan (1905), is accepted by Lee, *French Renaissance in England* (1910), and Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France* (1912). Grotius's positive assertion in 1645 of Mornay's authorship appears overlooked by recent writers (*Opera Theol.*, IV, 702a).

the like interpretation adopted by the Scottish Assembly and Parliament as to the two alliances and two oaths—"the first with God . . . the second with the king." [1]

Like Beza and Hotman, Mornay ties up popular sovereignty with representative government.[2] "When we speak of the whole people, we understand those who have in hand the authority in behalf of the people, that is the magistrates" . . . "if they do not restrict within his limits the king who breaks the law of God or who prevents the re-establishment thereof, they offend grievously the Lord with whom they have contracted alliance." Private citizens are not to obey commands against God; "further than this, they have no right, and cannot of their own private authority take arms if it does not appear very manifest that they have extraordinary vocation." [3]

Like other Calvinists Mornay maintains that "there is a mutual obligation between the king and the people which, whether civil, simply natural, unexpressed, or declared in express terms, cannot be abolished in any way whatever nor infringed." "Brabant and other provinces of the Netherlands furnish examples of express agreements." [4] Mornay in his correspondence with William of Orange, the Estates, and others, repeatedly urged and justified the Dutch revolt on the basis of Philip's violation of reciprocal obligations and charter rights.[5] Written when the Dutch needed foreign aid, and published through William the Silent's secretary, Villiers, the *Vindiciae* defended such constitutional revolution.[6]

Mornay, the "Huguenot pope," adviser of Henry of Navarre, friend and correspondent of the councillors of Elizabeth and William, active as publicist and politician, exercised a wide influence. The *Vindiciae*, in addition to the

[1] Mornay, pp. 54, 73–75.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 241.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 93.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 192.
[5] In 1571, 1576, 1582; Mornay, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, VI, 430; II, 133 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht*, pp. 103, 108, 119–120.
[6] Pp. 232–233; Grotius, *Epistolae*, II, 949, 951; Elkan, p. 63; Hauser, *Sources*, III, 265.

Latin text of 1579 and the French of 1581, was reprinted together with Beza's *Droit des Magistrats* six times by 1608; twice appeared in English translation, during the Civil War and the Revolution; and was quoted by Parliament preachers. At least fifteen others of Mornay's books were published in English by 1617. He visited England several times and was in frequent correspondence with England, Holland, and Geneva. [1]

In the Netherlands, revolt was justified upon Calvinistic theories by William the Silent and his Genevan-bred advisers. William maintained that he was "one of the chief members of the Estates," and "the Estates have been instituted to put a check upon the tyranny of the prince." "The king is only inaugurated after having sworn to observe the law." "He violated the law . . . the prince of Orange is therefore freed of his oaths." "Lawfully called as the vindicator of liberty and the savior of an oppressed people by a divine and human call, he is bound thereto by the function which he exercises. Let all therefore who do not oppose themselves to the will of God comprehend that each according to the measure of his duty in virtue of the obedience due to God, country, laws, and magistrates must second the efforts of the Prince of Orange." [2]

Marnix St. Aldegonde, the Genevan-bred theologian and diplomat, and right-hand man of William, answered his request for advice thus: "Men have taken arms by the advice and authority of the Estates General of the country,

[1] Copies of his works were in the colonial libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Prince, President Langdon and Jabez Fitch of Portsmouth, Reverend Robert Ward, Princeton, Dartmouth. He was quoted with approval in the 1593 Petition to Elizabeth, by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut, by Milton in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, and in Thomas Hollis's annotations on Milton's *Eikonoklastes*. John Adams, in his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (*Works*, VI, 4), names the *Vindiciae*, with the writings of Ponet, Harrington, Milton, Sidney, and Locke, as "valuable productions," "perhaps more frequently read abroad than at home," of which "Americans should make collections." Peter Gartz classed him and Althusius as the most dangerous advocates of the sovereignty of the people. Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 7, quoting Peter Gartz, *Puritanischer Glaubens- und Regiments Spiegel* (Leipzig, 1650), for trace of which the writer would be grateful.

[2] William to Elizabeth, 1572. British Museum, Cottonian Manuscripts, Galba, C. II and III, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, III, 177–182.

which have a lawful vocation from God against an oppressor of the country and a sworn and irreconcilable enemy of all servants of God." "If they reject a prince who is offered them for their defense against tyranny, they are ungrateful toward God, rebellious against His will and merit coming under the yoke." [1]

Nine months after the receipt of this reply William, in his justification of the revolt addressed to the Estates General, strikingly illustrated the Calvinistic teachings of covenant, ephors, and representative responsibility. The ruler "by his oath purposes that in case of contravention we should not be longer bound to him." "Between all lords and vassals there is a mutual obligation. . . . Among other rights we have this privilege of serving our dukes as the ephors served their kings in Sparta, that is, to keep the royalty firm in the hand of a good prince and to bring to reason him who contravenes his oath." "The assembly of the estates, a bridle and bar to tyranny, hated by tyrants, and loved by true princes, is the sole foundation of a state." [2] Failure to constrain the ruler is perjury.

Seven months later the Estates General of the Netherlands, like the Parliament of Scotland, put Calvinistic theory into practice, embodying its teaching of constitutional resistance in a document having the force of public law in the Netherlands, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581. "A prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression." "God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects." "And when he . . . on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges . . . then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant." "When this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the states, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally pro-

[1] Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives . . . d'Orange-Nassau*, VII, 277–285.

[2] *Apologie de Guillaume de Nassau* (ed. Lacroix), pp. 85, 101, 102 ff., 118; English translation, *Phenix*, I, 449–538.

ceed to the choice of another prince for their defence. . . . This is what the law of nature dictates for the defense of liberty . . . more justifiable in our land . . . for most of the Provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain; which, if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign.[1]

The Declaration was justified the following year by Mornay, who maintained that the reciprocal obligation between prince and subject rested on divine as well as on natural right, since nature is only God's handiwork. The Estates of the Netherlands therefore, in accordance with their natural and civil rights, deposed the King of Spain rightly, for nothing is more natural or lawful than the annulling of a contract which one of the two parties has broken. Mornay also, like William, maintains the Calvinistic teaching of obedience to God rather than man.[2]

In Germany, five representative Calvinists, three of whom had come into personal relations with Geneva, maintained the obligation of the representative magistrate to resist the tyrant. Zanchius, exile from Italy, and professor at Strasburg and Heidelberg, maintained, on the basis of the frequently quoted Scriptural and classical passages and examples, that "resistance to the superior magistrate commanding evil is not resistance to a power ordained by God." "We ought to obey God rather than man." "If for the sake of religion you oppose yourself to the King, you oppose yourself not to power but to tyranny, and unless you so oppose yourself you act contrary to divine and human law." [3]

Zanchius had lived in Geneva, worked vigorously for the introduction of Calvinistic church discipline into the Palatinate, served as an elder at Heidelberg, and was asked by Calvin to come to Geneva. His books were widely owned and read.[4]

[1] Dutch Declaration of Independence, translation in *Somers Tracts*, I, 323 ff.
[2] Mornay, *Mém. et Corr.*, II, 133 ff.; summarized in Elkan, p. 120.
[3] *Opera Theologica*, IV, 799–801.
[4] In the Bodleian, given by Evelyn; library of William Ames; colonial libraries of at least seven New England ministers and four colleges; quoted in the Petition

Another cosmopolitan, the Italian exile, Peter Martyr, twice invited to Geneva by Calvin, spread the latter's political theories through twenty years' residence in Strasburg, Oxford, and Zürich, and through his widely read *Loci Communes* and commentaries. Martyr taught that the private man may not revolt; but that "the lesser powers" like the "ephors and Roman tribunes" or "Imperial Electors" who "elect the superior powers and govern the Republic with fixed laws," may use force to compel a prince "to fulfill conditions and compacts (*pacta*) to which he has taken oath." Unlike Melanchthon and like a true Calvinist, he teaches active and not passive resistance.[1]

The famous German publicist, Althusius, professor of law at Herborn, and a courageous magistrate at Emden for thirty-six years, maintained in his *Politica Methodice Digesta* (1603) the Calvinistic teaching of the duties of the ephors and estates ordained by God. Althusius had apparently lived at Geneva; he certainly acknowledged his indebtedness to Gothofredus, a Genevan professor of law; exercised the function of a Calvinistic elder in the church at Emden; and "in all his works betrays a strong Calvinistic spirit." He taught that if the sovereign breaks the contract between him and the people he loses his divine authority and the people exercise the divine will in deposing him. Gierke notes in Althusius, in common with other Calvinists, these characteristic traits of political thought: use of the Scripture for determining the outward form of Church and State; predominance of Old Testament examples; emphasis of the decalogue in politics; admiration for Jewish law and form of state; rejection of canon law; presbyterian and synodal church organiza-

to Elizabeth, 1593, Richard Hooker, Henry Jacobs, Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, Puritan and Anglican preachers, Thomas Hooker of Connecticut.

[1] "Nec tantum parendum non est sed reclamandum et adversandum pro viribus." *Loci Communes* (ed. 1576), 4th Div., Locus XX, sects. 11–13, pp. 1086–1087. Cf. "P. Melanchthon uppon the xiii chapter of . . . Romanes"; see also below, p. 102, note 1. Martyr's works were in libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Goodborne, Harvard College, Rowland Cotton, Nathaniel Rogers, Joseph Sewall, and Thomas Prince. Quoted by Pareus on this passage, Thomas Hooker, and John Allin.

tion; and co-operation of Church and State. "Finally, in the formation of the constitution of the state in all of these Calvinistic political writers, there are certain common positive traits which hark back to the propositions of Calvin, and particularly to his teaching of the ephors and their rights and duties to act against unrighteous rulers." Gierke then cites the famous section from the last chapter of Calvin's *Institutes* quoted at the beginning of this article.[1]

This conception of a power conferred indirectly by God and directly by the people was expressed ten years later by a Heidelberg professor, "Pareus, a German divine, but fully cast into the Genevan mould." [2]

"The proper and first cause of the magistrate is God himself; but men are the proximate causes." [3] "Subjects not private citizens, but appointed as inferior magistrates, may justly, even by arms, defend the commonwealth and church or religion against a superior magistrate," under certain conditions, "because even the higher magistrate is subject to divine laws and his commonwealth." "The law of God not only prohibits tyranny, but also commands that it be legitimately checked." Pareus's teaching of the right of deposition of kings is thus translated by Milton in his *Tenure of Kings:* "They whose part is to set up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down; but all magistrates are set up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates; they therefore, who exalted them may lawfully degrade and punish them." [4]

The almost forgotten Pareus is typical of scores of Calvinistic writers, either Genevan-bred or directly influenced by men who had been in Geneva, whose books—listed by

[1] Gierke, *Johannes Althusius, und die Entwicklung der Naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien* (1902), pp. 56–58, 29–30, 31, 34, 69, quotations from Althusius, *Politica.*
[2] South, *Sermons*, I, 471.
[3] Pareus, *Comm. Rom.* (1617), p. 1059. Cf. Milton, *Tenure*, and Mornay, p. 96.
[4] Pp. 1063–1066; Milton, sect. 60. Oxford in 1622, in the case of Knight, of Pembroke College, condemned the whole doctrine of Pareus respecting the authority of popular officers, and King James ordered the book burnt. Heylin, *Stumbling-Block*, preface; South, *Sermons*, I, 471.

hundreds in American colonial libraries, and quoted by publicists of two continents and three centuries—through their combined and continued influence permanently affected the political thought and action of England and America. Pupil and colleague of four famous Heidelberg Calvinists who had been in Geneva, Pareus published a defense of Calvin, and quotes him eight times in his comments on the thirteenth chapter of Romans, from which the above citations are taken.[1]

A fourth German widely read, Alstedius of Nassau, member of the Synod of Dort, maintained the characteristic theories of Calvinists: the subjection of all to the *lex naturae* and to the Bible; obedience to laws rather than to kings; the right of the entire body of subjects to resist tyrants upon violation of oath; the function of "ephors" or estates of the realm to appoint, judge, and depose the king and exercise *summa auctoritas* especially in extraordinary taxes.[2]

Resistance to tyrants did not originate with Calvinists, nor did the idea remain peculiar to them. It had been proclaimed by scriptural, classical, and medieval writers; it was advocated by Lutheran and Catholic. The Calvinist provided a method of resistance that was at once definite, legal, and practicable; combined it with other theories and the sound experiences of self-governing churches and civil communities; and finally worked it out into something of world significance—responsible, representative, constitutional government. Where Aquinas taught passive resistance, Zanchius,

[1] His works (some published in Geneva) were in the Bodleian (1605), the libraries of William Ames and Cartmel Church, Lancashire (1629), Rothwell's *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books* (1657), London's *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books* (1658); were quoted by Knight at Oxford, Hill and Gibson in Civil War sermons before Parliament, Milton, and Thomas Hall in *Pulpit Guarded* (1651), and controverted by the Royalists Heylin and South. In America his books were in at least seventeen colonial libraries—those of Brewster, Harvard, Lee, Prince, Samuel Phillips, Rowland Cotton, John Adams, President Langdon of Harvard and Nathaniel Rogers, Harvard College (repurchased 1764 after fire), Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Kirtland, founder of Hamilton, Logan, Byrd, Edenton, and John Rose. Thomas Hooker quoted him in his *Survey*, and John Wise in his widely read and frequently reprinted *Churches' Quarrel.*

[2] *Encyclopædia*, lib. XXIII, viii, 9, 1419, 1420, 1474, 1493. Alstedius appears in at least nine colonial libraries.

quoting Aquinas, "took the next step" and urged active resistance.[1] In case of "irreligious and iniquitous commands," said Beza, "it is not enough not to do evil, but we must acquit ourselves of that which we owe God and our neighbor." [2] Lutherans who proclaimed and practised active resistance at Magdeburg met criticism at Wittenberg; they found sympathy at Geneva, where Calvin sided with them against Melanchthon, and Beza ascribed his anonymous revolutionary treatise to "those of Magdeburg." [3]

That the Jesuits and the Catholic "Monarchomachi" of the sixteenth century took a leaf from the Calvinistic book of political theory is itself a witness to the ever-widening political influence of Calvinists. These Catholic writers however retained the canon law; minimized the dignity and power of the State; and in neither Church nor State developed government and discipline by representative bodies of laymen, as did the Calvinists. The Calvinist rejected the canon law; insisted that civil magistrates were "ordained by the divine law of God" and were "not a human ordinance"; laid less emphasis upon tyrannicide and more upon representative government and nationality.[4] More significant still, he definitely established constitutional government. His ideas of "vocation," representative responsibility, compact, and fundamental written law were embodied in a series of documents which formed the working basis of successful constitutional governments in a series of Puritan states—usually with a significant federal element—Geneva, the United Netherlands, the English Commonwealth, Scotland under the Solemn League and Covenant, the New England Confederation and its constituent Puritan common-

[1] Quoting Aquinas, "2 part. quest. 96, art. 4 *nullo modo observare*"; Zanchius teaches "sed contra potius resistere," *Opera*, I, 196–197. Cf. above, p. 99, note 1, Peter Martyr.

[2] *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 485.

[3] Bonnet, *Calvin's Letters*, II, 270 ff.; Beza, title-page of *Droit des Magistrats*.

[4] Grotius, *Opera Theologica*, IV, 487a, 702a; Pierre Moulin, *Buckler of the Faith* (second ed., Eng. trans., 1623), pp. 536–556; and his *Anti-Coton* (Eng. trans., 1611), pp. 1–5, 15, 57, 59; Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 58; Labitte, *Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, pp. 17, 96, 292.

wealths, and, in practice if not in legal theory, certain New England self-governing communities.[1]

The Calvinistic system of elementary and university education—its belief that "conscience requires knowledge"; its pregnant emphasis upon reason, completer sources, original languages, and serviceableness to the commonwealth; its tendency to a scientific spirit and more fearless investigation and drawing of conclusions—gave essential intellectual and moral training in more than a score of European Calvinistic universities and seven American colleges founded by Calvinists, 1636–1783. "The habit of my thinking," said the Genevan-born and educated Albert Gallatin, "has been to push discoveries to their utmost consequences without fear." [2]

The Church through its lay government and severe discipline showed magistrate and common man what it was to exercise representative responsibility in making and enforcing law regardless of rank, and in accordance with a written fundamental law, "the open Word of God," and some form of written church constitution. Then Beza, the Huguenot *États Généraux*, Scottish Covenanters, William of Orange, Cartwright, Hooker, Cotton, and Winthrop logically advocated a similar form of government in the State, and wherever possible established it.

Their sound principles of six days' labor weekly of every man at his "calling," the right to take interest, the obligation to produce, "lay something by," and give away, enabled Calvinists to found economically self-sufficient states, successful enough to attract desirable population, productive and progressive enough to maintain liberal expenditures for education, religion, social betterment, and constitutional government.

[1] See Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* and civil code; Dutch Declaration of Independence; Union of Utrecht; Solemn League and Covenant; Instrument of Government; Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; Massachusetts Body of Liberties; Articles of New England Confederation; and at least a dozen New England church, town, or colony covenants, 1636–1641.

[2] "Calvinists and Education," by writer, in Monroe, *Cyclopædia of Education*, I; Adams, *Gallatin*, p. 678.

Their political theories could never have found such effective utterance and fulfilment had there not been behind all theory the dynamics of Calvinism—the trained conscience, brain, and will of sturdy, clear-minded, businesslike men of affairs, rulers of cities and founders of states, devoted each to his "vocation" to which every man had been called by the ceaseless will of "The Eternal" who "held the helm of the universe." "They had to the highest degree the force that made them strong: character. They knew whither they were going, what they wished and what they could do." [1] They possessed what for lack of a simpler term might be called the co-operative social energy of clear-eyed individualists. The dynamics of Calvinism are revealed in Calvin's "unterrified we shall go on in our calling" . . . "ad ultimum usque spiritum"; in the pride in being "ane watchman" and "a profitable member within the Commonwealth" of Knox, "who never feared the face of man"; in Andrew Melville's "we dar and will"; Beza's exhortation to "succor our brethren according to our power and vocation"; Mornay's dictum, "it is stupid to feel in one's self the power to do something well and not seek out the means of doing it"; and Aldegonde's motto "repos d'ailleurs."

With real political insight, the Calvinist grasped the possibilities involved in the combination of the theories of: (1) "vocation," (2) representative "responsibility to God and the people," (3) fundamental and written law of God and man, to which (4) king, representatives, and people were bound by mutual compact. With characteristic temper he "went forward," not resting until he had demonstrated the practicability of these ideas and established both constitutional resistance and constitutional government. Once embodied in edict, statute, or charter, in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, England, and America, these theories were appealed to with relentless Calvinistic logic as public and

[1] Hauser, "De l'Humanisme et de la Réforme en France, 1512–1552," *Revue Historique*, LXIV, 258–297 (1897).

fundamental law. The additional facts that such laws "aggrie with the law of God" and that they were rewarded with the prosperity promised by God were logically pointed out, by believers in universal providence and the reign of law, as evidence of the soundness of their principles and as "public proof of the Agency of God." The Calvinist based his political theories upon his faith in an almighty providence and found his actual institutions confirming his faith.[1]

[1] Knox, *Works*, II, 449; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 586 ff.; *Vindiciae*, p. 239; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, VII, 282–285; Jurieu, "Plaintes Protestantes" (1685), in *Bull. Soc. Hist. Prot. Française*, September, 1913; *Catalogue of Books*, College of New Jersey (1760), IV.

LIBERAL CALVINISM; THE REMONSTRANTS AT THE SYNOD OF DORT IN 1618[1]

IN spite of all the volumes written about the Synod of Dort, one looks in vain for a comparison between the condemned Remonstrants and Calvin, either in doctrine or in those other distinguishing features of the Calvinism that flowed from Calvin and Geneva, and formed the working programme among Huguenots, Dutch, Scotch, English, and the descendants of all four in the American colonies.

It is easy to assume that the judgment of the Synod of Dort, representative of so many Calvinistic churches and countries, must be accepted as definitive, and that the deposed Remonstrants cannot be considered Orthodox or Calvinists. The next step is usually to regard the Remonstrants as anti-calvinists and to classify them tidily under the labels "Arminian," "Socinian," "Arian," "Semi-pelagian," or "Papist," or even sometimes untidily by applying all these names together to some opponent, as was done to Grotius.

Whether this method is logical and historical will appear more clearly after a study of (1) the Dutch conditions and parties which caused the Synod; (2) the Calvinism of Calvin and his immediate followers; (3) the progress and outcome of the Synod.

I

The Synod of Dort was called by the States General of the Netherlands in 1618 to aid in settling the disputes, not merely theological but personal and political, that had been going on for more than ten years. The doctrinal dispute at the University of Leyden between the older and rigidly conservative Gomar and his younger, more liberal colleague

[1] Reprinted from *Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1923.

Arminius had a strong element of personal rivalry, which did not cease with the death of Arminius. Grotius and Barneveldt and the Remonstrants (that is, those who remonstrated in 1610 against the ultra-dogmatic Calvinists), supporting a policy of peace with Spain and a republican and limited central government, were the political opponents of Maurice, Prince of Orange, and the Contra-remonstrants ("Orthodox"), who favored a more war-like policy and a strong central government under the House of Orange.

The Synod included twenty-six noted divines from the "Reformed," that is Calvinistic, churches of Geneva, Switzerland, England, the Palatinate, Hesse, Emden, Nassau, and Bremen. From the Netherlands came not merely fifty-eight pastors or professors but also a "political president" and eighteen secular commissioners representing Prince Maurice and the States General. This political element constantly exercised a decisive influence, which was regularly used against the Remonstrants. The representatives of the Remonstrants were cited by the civil power, not for discussion of their doctrine, but for defence, and only under prescriptions which, they felt, violated their rights of conscience. Like Athanasius at the Synod of Tyre, the Remonstrant delegates elected from Utrecht found that the members of the Synod were not judges but parties, and they therefore withdrew. Even the one Remonstrant who expressed his willingness to accept the drastic conditions laid down by the Synod was not given his seat.

From the history of events preceding the Synod, from the composition of the Dutch delegation, and from the reports of foreign delegates it is quite clear that the assembly was from the start practically committed to the condemnation of the Remonstrants. This was the conclusion of such observers as "the ever memorable John Hales," Dean of Windsor, and Balcanqual, James I's Scottish chaplain, both of whom came favorably disposed to the dominant party and distinctly critical toward the Remonstrants. They were,

indeed, selected and instructed by King James, who had strongly urged upon the Dutch the prosecution of the Remonstrants. The facts recorded day by day, in letters or official records, and the conclusions eventually reached by such competent observers with no suspicion of bias for the condemned Remonstrants, show a growing recognition of the severe and unfair tactics on the part of Gomar, of the Moderator of the Synod, and likewise of the secular commissioners representing the States General. The observers note unfair methods of citing the Remonstrants' writings; disregard of any opinion in the Synod favorable to the Remonstrants; and insistence upon summary action without debate in compliance with the decree of dismission written out by the secular commissioners "before they came into the Synod," which Balcanqual calls "a trick a little too palpable." Both observers record their regret that the Synod was in other ways inadvertently giving clear evidence that the condemnation of the Remonstrants had been predetermined. A like well-considered conclusion was reached, a generation later, by Lewis du Moulin, Puritan and orthodox Calvinist, Camden Professor of History at Oxford. Du Moulin discriminatingly points out that the sincerity of the Contra-remonstrants at Dort is not to be questioned, and that they voted as they thought and not as they were bid by the States General; but they were only permitted to be there at all because they were on the side of the dominant party in the State, which always controls the composition of such a Synod and might in this case have made it an Arminian Synod had the States General themselves been Arminian.[1]

The logical corollaries of the Synod's deposition of the Remonstrant ministers were the ratification by the States General of the Synod's acts; the execution of Barneveldt, the Remonstrant political leader, four days after the close

[1] *Paraenesis ad Aedificatores Imperii in Imperio*, 1656, ch. xxiii, paragraph 7, p. 624.

of the Synod; the condemnation of Grotius five days later; and the banishment of the Remonstrant ministers and teachers from the Netherlands. Upon the share which politics had in the deposition and banishment of the Remonstrants further light is shed by the fact that a few years later, after the death of their political opponent Maurice and the accession of a less hostile prince, the Remonstrant preachers and professors were allowed to return and establish not merely churches but a Remonstrant theological seminary. Whatever doubt may lie in anyone's mind as to the precise amount of political influence involved in both the controversy and its decision, there can be no doubt that this influence was present and effective before, during, and after the Synod. It is also clear that Gomar, leader of the Contra-remonstrants, was over quick to extend the strong personal animosity he had earlier felt against Arminius to any brother, orthodox or heterodox, who ventured to differ from him in the Synod. The British delegates record Gomar's discourtesy not only to the Remonstrants and the foreign delegates but even to his own Contra-remonstrant members, one of whom he twice challenged to a duel during the progress of the Synod.[1]

As one follows the story it becomes increasingly clear that even in the matter of doctrine, partisanship and extraneous considerations must be recognized. Doctrine, however, fundamentally important though it be, is but a single phase of Calvinism. It is necessary, therefore, before considering the doctrinal controversies at Dort and attempting to answer the question who were the Calvinists there, to define Calvinism.

II

The answer to the question what was Calvinism is again easy if one follows the line of least resistance and uses the

[1] "Letters from the Synod of Dort," in Hales's *Golden Remains*, 10–11; further examples of partisanship of Contra-remonstrants, 2, 4, 33, 35, 36, 57–61. Cf. Bayle, *Dictionary*, art. "Gomar."

old hard and fast system of classification based upon a rigid interpretation of a single article or a single aspect of Calvinism. The single article would usually be assumed to be double predestination. The single aspect of Calvinism would be the theological. Predestination, however, whether single or double, was but one article of Calvin's profound theology. It was demonstrably neither primary nor fundamental in his doctrine.

In the first edition of the *Institutes* there is no double predestination, but only the ordinary doctrine of predestination of the elect. In the first creed of Calvin, drawn up for Geneva in 1537, predestination was not even mentioned; and Calvin never demanded any other creed. There was no discussion of predestination in connection with his exile or in the conditions for his triumphant recall. The Catechism of Calvin, in its revised and permanent form the official teaching of the Genevan church, contained no section devoted to predestination, and mentioned it only in connection with the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy kingdom come." This is interpreted as meaning: "That He would govern His own by His Spirit, that He would prostrate and destroy the reprobate *who refuse to give themselves up to His service*, thus making it manifest that nothing is able to resist His might." The omission of any section devoted to predestination is clearly intentional, for such a section teaching double predestination had been included in the first edition of the Catechism. The omission of double predestination in the definitive editions of the Catechism and in four creeds from Calvin's hand clearly demonstrates his mature judgment that double predestination was not fundamental, and was unnecessary in a church's symbol of belief.[1]

[1] *Calvini Opera*, ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, V, 346. Catechism of 1537, XXII, 46–47; Catechism of 1538, V, 346; later editions, VI, 95; 1537 Creed, IX, 693–700; cf. especially Articles 6–8, 11–12, on Faith and Redemption through Christ, and the italicized clause above, with the Remonstrants' Articles I and III. Three other creeds: for French King, *Opera*, IX, 715 f., for Genevan students, 1559, IX, 725 f.; for Emperor, 756 f.

This permanent expression of Calvinism in the official Catechism of Geneva, translated into ten languages, published in scores of editions, adopted or built upon by French, Scotch, English, and Dutch, and approved by the Synod of Dort, shows the fundamental principle, the keynote traceable throughout the theory and practice not only of Calvin but of his followers, conservative or liberal. That fundamental thing was not predestination, but the absolute sovereignty of God and the subordination of all else to bring about the Kingdom of God on earth. Calvin's first edition of the *Institutes*, his widely accepted Catechism, the Creeds drawn up by him and solemnly adopted and given symbolical authority in the sixteenth century by the Calvinistic churches in France, Switzerland, Holland, the Palatinate, England, and Scotland were in essential harmony with the Remonstrants, who accepted the Calvinistic creeds taught in the Netherlands and adopted by the Synod of Dort. In the Scots' Confession of 1560, drawn by the fiery John Knox who had sat at Calvin's feet in Geneva, "there was no statement of reprobation, or in the second Helvetic Confession of 1566," "whose authors were decidedly Calvinistic and its doctrine undoubtedly Calvinistic." [1] "The Thirty-Nine Articles, the Heidelberg Catechism [approved by the Synod of Dort], and other German Reformed Confessions indorse merely the positive part of the election of believers, and are wisely silent concerning the doctrine of reprobation." [2] Yet these creeds were recognized and accepted as Calvinistic by Calvinists of both the extreme and the moderate types in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; for it should be remembered that the Puritans of two continents and two centuries repeatedly expressed their agreement with the doctrines of the Church of England as expressed in the Thirty-Nine Articles, and that this agreement was confirmed by the testimony of the highest Anglican ecclesiasti-

[1] Cunningham, *Reformers*, 203; Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, iii, 445 (Scottish), 252–254, ch. x (Helvetic).
[2] Schaff, *Creeds*, i, 454.

cal authorities in the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries.

Double predestination has been doubly overworked as a too convenient earmark of Calvinism, first by the enemies and secondly by the supporters of rigid Calvinism, both of whom might take a lesson from the simpler Calvinism of Calvin, of Knox, and of the national creeds of their day, in which double predestination does not appear.

The one principle always present and emphasized by Calvin and his immediate followers in every creed and working programme was the sovereignty of the Almighty, the Eternal, whose kingdom men must pray and work to help bring about on earth, whose "Word of God" must be realized as the law of earthly kingdoms. There is no need to reproduce here the evidence for that fact. It has been the conclusion of men for two generations who have had first-hand familiarity with Calvin's writings and life: the Genevese Choisy, the French Doumergue, the Dutch Kuyper, the American Williston Walker, the Scotch Reyburn, the English Irwin, the Germans from Köstlin half a century ago to Scheibe (even in a book devoted to Calvin's predestination), and recently Beyerhaus, who shows by scores of examples that what is fundamental is the sovereignty of God. This fundamental conviction deemed worth fighting for was put in simple concrete form by the citizens of Geneva, who disdained the threats of their former sovereign of Savoy and sent him word: "For the sovereignty of God and the Word of God we will hazard our lives."

When Calvin did discuss double predestination most fully, he warned against the danger of presumption in speculation as to what God had ordained before creation, and urged the sufficiency of Scripture teaching on this subject and the recognition of the general principle that "God governs everything by His Providence." [1]

More essential than any question about predestination

[1] *Opera*, VIII, 100–111, 115.

or any purely theological article in judging whether a man or group is Calvinistic or not, is the fact that creed was only one aspect of Calvinism. There were at least five phases or aspects of historic Calvinism, all logically knit together: (1) a creed based on the Bible and emphasizing the absolute sovereignty of God; (2) church government and discipline of morals in conformity with the Word of God, honoring God above men, and enforcing the standard of his Word in daily life; (3) a form of worship free from idolatries forbidden in Scripture, yet dignified, and flexible enough to meet the test of "edification" of various kinds of people in various lands and times; (4) civil government, harmonizing with the will of God and fundamental law, safeguarding the liberties of the people protected by covenant and by divinely ordained representative government; (5) insistence upon a comprehensive, practical, social and economic programme as part of the working out of the will of God, a sort of practical idealism or spirit of insisting on putting theory into practice in daily life.

This comprehensiveness of the Calvinism of Calvin is strikingly evidenced in the documents in the archives of Geneva, a frontier market-town, which was made over by the wars for independence and by Calvinism from a city of merchants into an international centre, the first Puritan commonwealth devoted to gainful vocations pursued for public purposes. In 1537 the document submitted by Calvin and his colleagues to the city council was significant of his programme and spirit. The resulting creed of 1537, which made no mention of predestination, logically linked together the sovereignty of God and the moral obligations of man. One element of Puritanism appears in its requirement that all citizens should swear to observe the Ten Commandments, and in its recognition that wastefulness, drunkenness, and shiftlessness are violations of God's law. In worship, Calvin developed more heartiness through congregational singing, urging the training of a children's choir to lead until their

elders could learn to follow, and later securing poets and musicians to write both words and music. Church organization was demanded, with practical plans for church officials devoted to moral discipline. Civil government was touched upon in insistence upon a joint commission of clergy and laity to revise the marriage laws and to remedy injustices of the canon law.

In 1538, and again in 1541, what Calvin regarded as essential was indicated in the conditions upon which he insisted before he would return to Geneva. These included the reorganization of the church government and the safeguarding of its rights against political tyranny; measures for right relations between civil government and church; purity and freedom of worship; provision for moral discipline and sound morality.

The reorganization of state as well as church was part of Calvin's concern, and he collaborated in the revision of the civil code of Geneva in 1543. That other famous Genevan, Rousseau, in his Social Contract, reveals an understanding of the scope of Calvin's work. "Those who consider Calvin only as theologian fail to recognise the breadth of his genius. The editing of our wise laws, in which he had a large share, does him as much honor as his *Institutes*. Whatever revolution time may bring in our religion, so long as the love of country and liberty is not extinct among us, the memory of this man will be held in reverence."

In the Genevan archives memoranda in Calvin's hand still exist regarding improvement in military defence, fire protection, police regulations, sewers, and weaving. There was no mention of hell-fire in Calvin's Genevan creed, but when there came up a practical question of a new scheme of central heating, it was to "M. Calvin" that the doubtful magistrates turned for advice. A picture at once official, contemporary, and concrete of the actual workings of Calvinism in the first Puritan commonwealth is to be found in the *Lawes and Statutes of Geneva*, containing both civil and

ecclesiastical codes, translated by an English refugee in 1562, and reprinted in England at the beginning of the Civil War and on the eve of the Restoration.

The wide range of Calvin's programme in Geneva is reflected in the records of the local, provincial, and national church assemblies—all representative, and all with laymen on an equality and usually in the majority—of the Huguenots, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch; of the parishes and town corporations, of church-wardens and overseers of the poor in a score of towns in East Anglia from which came the settlers of the towns of New England, and of parliaments in Puritan England; of church, town, or vestry meetings and "General Courts" in colonial New England or Virginia; and in the educational and economic policy manifested by all these people.

In general, from the absolute sovereignty of God over all men Calvinism deduced the moral obligation of all men to society, and a consequent devotion to production and public service as part of the service of God. Two examples will illustrate this. Calvin's epoch-making teaching that interest-taking was lawful and that "ydle money is altogether unprofitable," quoted, translated, and applied by his followers, and reinforced by his teaching of "calling," resulted in the extension of credit in the great Calvinistic trading peoples, Scotch, English, Dutch, and American colonists, and in their enormously increased economic power of production. It was illustrated more fully in the teachings regarding Sunday and "calling." Man must not merely rest on Sunday, but must do so in order that he may, like the Master-workman ("*ce grand Ouvrier*," *Institutes*, I, v, 10), work six days in the week, and "do all his work" in "that estate and calling to which it shall please thee to ordain me," where, "however humble his calling, each man can make his best contribution to the Kingdom of God." Boys and girls brought up on such prayers from Calvin's Catechism become social assets rather than social liabilities. On

going to work they were taught to pray: "May we faithfully follow our estate and calling in pursuit of thy ordinance rather than in satisfaction of our ambition to enrich ourselves; yet if it shall please thee to make our labour to prosper, grant us the good-will to come to the aid of those in want, according to the power which thou hast given us." [1]

Whether one reads such vocational prayers of Calvin or the actual *Lawes and Statutes of Geneva,* providing that no one should lose his time but everyone work six days in the week according to his calling; or the homely teachings of his Genevan colleague Cordier; or the educational programmes of Geneva, Holland, Scotland, the Huguenots, or the Calvinists of New England; the wise counsels of Richard Baxter in his *Christian Directory;* or the shrewd and oft-reprinted saws of Richard Steele's *Tradesman's Calling* or *Religious Tradesman*—in all these and many other like examples will be found a systematic programme for every-day practical, social, and economic productivity. In his daily social and economic life, as in his religion and politics, the Calvinist was a driver, a dynamic force, militant and masculine, insistently and persistently making himself not a Mohammedan witness of fate, nor a passive Lutheran contemplator of the work of the Holy Spirit, but rather an active human agent of the divine purpose running through the ages.

Trained thus in the larger aspects of Calvinism, in the meeting-house on Sunday and at the weekly lecture; daily for six days in the week at bench, shop, farm, or loom; in the schoolhouse, on the training-field, in the hôtel de ville or town-hall of Geneva, old Boston, or Amsterdam, or in the town-meeting of the newer Boston, or agitating for a town-meeting in New Amsterdam, infected by that "New England disease which is very catching"—the Calvinist of all these lands was a man whose conception of Christian citizenship involved a development of all his productive

[1] Calvin, Catechism, *Opera,* VI, 138.

powers for the benefit not merely of church but also of commonwealth. He not only paid his bills, but produced something, put it at interest like a canny Scot or thrifty Yankee, and gave generously for public purposes. "Christianity is a busy trade," wrote the Puritan Richard Sibbes. "It is stupid to feel in oneself the power to do something well," said the Huguenot Mornay, "and not to seek means of doing it." An unknown correspondent of the Huguenot-Dutch-Puritan Lewis du Moulin, Locke's teacher at Oxford, wrote that he would not neglect to put out at usury the talent which he had received from Du Moulin's book. If ever peoples exemplified in their lives the parable of putting their talent out at usury in both spiritual and material life it was the Huguenots, Scotch, English, Dutch, and their American descendants, the Puritans of two worlds. All these types of Calvinists "regarde also what may be expedient for the commonwealth," as the Scot Spottiswoode translated in 1616 Calvin's letter on the lawfulness of taking interest. Calvinists were everywhere more than theologians; they were founders of states which crystallized into practical, working institutions the progressive teachings of Calvinism, social, economic, political, as well as those relating to doctrine, worship, and church government. Their passionately active and persistent spirit reveals itself not merely in a remarkable body of international literature to be found in virtually every American colonial library of the seventeenth century, Puritan or Anglican, Scotch, Dutch, or Huguenot, but more concretely in an international movement of common purpose and common practice in two continents for over two hundred years.

This historic movement reveals Calvinism as much more than a creed. It was, as Kuyper called it, a "life-system," but something more, for it possessed within itself the dynamic of life, vitalizing creed, worship, moral and intellectual discipline, church organization and civil government, economics and social ethics, developing and utilizing to the

utmost God-given talents for the upbuilding of church, free public schools, military defence, and the wealth necessary for so comprehensive and costly a commonwealth. In a word, this historic movement meant public-mindedness, systematic and practical, where every man should bear his appointed part in the realization upon earth of the changeless purpose of Him whom the Calvinist was so fond of calling "the Eternal." "Calvinism's essence was the moralization of life through religion." Calvin's "lifelong aim and business were to re-wed religion and morality," is the summing up of one of the most recent writers, who recognizes that Calvinism was neither predestination nor even "essentially a systematic body of doctrine." [1]

There was something else not quite so concretely and easily definable in Calvin and his followers: a fearless spirit of re-examination of premises, a logic so thorough-going that it seems characteristic rather of the French than of the ordinary English-speaking people, but yet a quality that appears in English-speaking people of a certain type, the Puritans. This spirit may be described as that of taking the next step. Calvin not only said, "We must walk each according to his station," but also, "We must walk forward, and grow, so that our hearts may be capable of things we cannot now understand. If our last day finds us going forward, we shall learn beyond this world what we could not learn here." [2] This not merely forward-looking but forward-moving spirit made Calvinism a growing, questioning force, bound to pass beyond any temporary creed, form of worship, or government, whether of church or state, because it always pursued Truth, "God's oldest daughter," as the Huguenot Condé described it. "The desire for investigating truth," Calvin taught, "has been implanted in the human mind." The truth should be told even if it hurt some who cannot

[1] Hunter, *Teaching of Calvinism*, ch. xvi. Cf. Choisy's valuable contributions: *La théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin*; and his *L'État chrétien calviniste à Genève au temps de Bèze*.

[2] "Farewell to Genevan Magistrates," *Opera*, IX, 890; *Institutes*, III, xxi, 2.

comprehend it; for it is better "that he that can comprehend may do so, rather than not to tell the truth and thereby not only prevent both persons from comprehending but also make the more intelligent of the two become worse, whereas, if he had learned and comprehended, others might learn through him." [1] "How fearful is their estate who even seem to fly from knowledge," said Baynes, the first link in that remarkable chain of conversion to Puritanism—Baynes, Sibbes, John Cotton, and John Davenport. "God hath not stinted us to any certain degree of knowledge." [2] The Puritan John Goodwin, in his defence of the execution of Charles I, held it a Christian duty "to make new patterns for others to follow"; "to enquire where others are defective"; "to remedy this by diligence in enquiry after truth." "To oppose as error all not generally received, is to interdict growth."

Once we realize the range of Calvinism, we escape being caught in the fine meshes of those who would set up an artificial standard, not merely exclusively theological but based on a single article of creed. In 1618, unfortunately, those who could not accept the rigid scholastic definitions of Dort on five points of speculative theology, although they agreed with all other aspects of Calvinism and even with the existing Calvinistic creeds, were rejected as not Calvinists, and were called Arminians, a term very indiscriminately used, often merely indicating an objectionable sort of person from the point of view of the speaker. It was a term of reproach, first because Arminianism had been condemned at Dort in the most widely attended international assembly of Calvinists, secondly, because in England Arminianism was condemned by Puritans and parliamentary men as savoring of the autocratic political and religious tendencies of Laud and Charles I, who in fact held views in both religion and politics quite contrary to the

[1] *Institutes*, II, ii, 12.
[2] Baynes, *Commentaries on Ephesians*, ch. i, 16–18.

liberal and republican Remonstrants, or Arminians, of 1618.

The Remonstrants' views are found in their five points or articles of 1610; their interpretations in 1618 of these articles which were reaffirmed at Dort; the Confession in Dutch and Latin, 1621–22, drawn up by Episcopius, their spokesman at Dort; Episcopius' *Theologicae Institutiones;* and the *Theologia Christiana* of their later leader Limborch, 1686. These official documents and teachings of the recognized leaders of the Remonstrants show that on occasion, and particularly after their exile, they were ready to criticize their persecutors and censors with some Calvinistic militancy. It is, however, somewhat surprising and illuminating to find that the Remonstrants' own utterances show them to have been on the whole in accord with Calvinism not only in worship, church government, political, social, and economic programme, but also in the theology of the Calvinistic creeds and catechisms before the Synod of Dort. Like Calvin the Remonstrants emphasized the sovereignty of God and the supreme duty of men to serve as instruments in carrying out his will as manifested in the Word of God. Their tenets on the sacraments, communion, and worship were regarded as essentially correct even by their severe censors, the Leyden professors, in 1630. Perhaps most surprising of all, we find the Remonstrants, from Arminius to Limborch, explicitly and repeatedly declaring their belief in double predestination, and accepting the statement of predestination embodied in the Calvinistic creed and catechism of the Dutch church. Like Calvin, however, they were not afraid to revise in the light of the Word of God (the supreme test), and for the honor of God. Arminius and his ally Uytenbogaert (who drew up the famous five Remonstrant articles of 1610) were trained at Geneva, where they received the liberal as well as orthodox tendencies, especially under the teachings of the liberal Perrot, who taught them theology and presided over the students' discussion of theses. This Genevan pastor and teacher

Perrot gave to Uytenbogaert, before he left Geneva for the Netherlands, this significant advice: "Never assist in condemning any for not agreeing in every point of religion with the established church, so long as they adhere to the fundamentals of Christianity," a counsel which we shall see advocated by the Remonstrants in Holland, by John Locke—product of Puritan, Huguenot, and Remonstrant—and eventually carried out by liberal Calvinists in Holland, England, and America.[1] Arminius himself in his earlier years was given hearty approval by Beza, under whom he studied in Geneva. In later life he was accustomed to recommend Calvin's *Institutes*, Commentaries, and Catechism as "incomparable in interpretation of Scripture." Even in his controversy with his precisian antagonist Gomar, Arminius testified "how well Calvin and Beza treated the doctrine of predestination." [2]

Both Grotius and Episcopius state that the Remonstrants' article on predestination (Article I of the five articles of 1610) was accepted at first by both sides. It was certainly legalized in the Province of Holland. After the discussion of 1611 at The Hague, the Estates of Holland gave the victory to neither Remonstrant nor Contra-remonstrant, but resolved that the five articles of the Remonstrants should remain as before.[3] The view of predestination condemned by the Synod of Dort, as in so many other points, was not exactly what the Remonstrants declared to be their belief, but what was either put into their mouths or twisted from what they said, contrary to "plain grammar," as the Scotch delegate Balcanqual repeatedly noted in his letters. We can see this for ourselves by comparing the Remonstrants' own written and signed statement of belief of 1610 and 1618 with the errors rejected by the Synod of Dort. Indeed the Contra-remonstrants carried the practice so far that in one citation of

[1] Brandt, *The History of the Reformation in the Netherlands*, II, 72; Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, I, 58–59.
[2] *Works*, Nichols edition, I, 295–296; III, 656.
[3] Brandt, II, 211–213.

Scripture they inserted (in brackets, it is true) a phrase not drawn from the Bible, in their zeal to prove the Remonstrants themselves unscriptural: "He hath chosen us [not because we were but] that we should be holy." [1] In this same article the orthodox Synod condemns the doctrine of election "founded upon foreseen faith," although "foreseen" had not been used by the Remonstrants in their articles. In the fifth article the Synod condemns the teaching that "true believers who are regenerate (*vere fideles ac regenitos*) can fall into mortal sin"; but the Remonstrants in this article had not used the word "regenerate" but only "true believers." It is not safe to take as the Remonstrants' belief what the Synod condemned.

It is only fair, however, to indicate that the Remonstrants did make predestination conditional in the sense that election depended upon faith in Christ, and reprobation upon unbelief. It should be pointed out that even in this their purpose was Calvinistic, for they expressly sought to preserve the honor and justice of God, so that he might not be regarded as condemning men "without any intervention of sin," "without any regard to unbelief," but rather "through their own fault," an expression used by Calvin himself.[2]

The Remonstrants were likewise Calvinistic in their purpose to make both election and reprobation subserve the moral life in man, and in their sound but strikingly frank assertion that "all men without exception are bound to believe that they are elected to salvation" (Article V, vi, 3).[3] This belief that they were predestined agents of God,

[1] Epistle to the Ephesians, 1, 4; under Article 1, section ix; Schaff, *Creeds*, III, 554, 583; same in official *Acta Synodi* by authority of States General, 1620, p. 28.

[2] Cf. Remonstrants' Articles I, iv, viii, and Articles III–IV, v, with Calvin, *Institutes*, III, xxiii, 9; III, xxiv, 12: "None perish without deserving it." The Remonstrants' Five Articles, 1610, in Schaff's *Creeds*, III, 545–549, in Dutch, Latin, and English; summarized (with the five negative articles not given by Schaff) in Brandt, II, 74–75; the interpretation of the articles by Remonstrants at Dort, Brandt, III, 83–84, 87–89, 89–90, 90–94; *Acta Synodi*, I, 127–137; *Acta . . . Remonstrantium*, I, 71–83.

[3] Samuel Sewall held the same view: "'Twas sin for any one to conclude themselves Reprobate," *Diary*, August 12, 1676.

held by both Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, was no small factor in their courage in fighting Spain, and in their stubbornness in fighting one another.

From both the official records and the letters of delegates it is entirely clear that the dispute at Dort was not over the acceptance of double predestination. Both sides accepted this; but it was the Remonstrants who vainly urged the discussion of reprobation, maintained that this tended to the glory of God no less than election, and cited Calvin as an example to justify treating the two sides of predestination.[1] In the reports of the sessions, private and public, contained in the letters from the British delegates, Calvin is referred to not in discussions of predestination but in those on the resistibility of grace, "where there are some doubts," "which Calvin himself had not thoroughly resolved." On the question, "how God can demand from man, whose power is finite, faith which is the work of omnipotence," one of the Contra-remonstrants sagely remarked, "that neither Calvin nor any of our Divines had untyed that knot." [2] When the Hessian delegates did note a difference, it was not in the interpretation of Calvin, but a difference between the more rigid Beza and Piscator and the more liberal Ursinus and Paraeus.

The differences between Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants at Dort were not over the Calvinistic creeds, for these were accepted by both sides; nor over teachings of Calvin which he considered essential and incorporated in his creeds and catechism. What they differed about were speculative matters which Calvin and his large-minded contemporaries had not felt it essential to include in creed or catechism: whether election and reprobation were based on faith; whether Christ died for all or only for the elect; whether grace were irresistible; whether this grace could ever be lost. On these points Calvin was not cited by the Contra-remon-

[1] *Acta Synodi*, 135; Brandt, III, 92.
[2] Balcanqual, in Hales, *Remains* (1659), 10, (1673 ed.), 111.

strants. In many places he might have been quoted by the Remonstrants in their favor. Later, indeed, their leader Episcopius pertinently remarked that "Calvin can be opposed to Calvin, as he uses dissimilar phrases in this matter." [1] It is quite true that Calvin at different times in his life and to different audiences made different statements, which might quite naturally have been quoted on either side of such speculative questions. The conception of Calvin as never varying has been rejected of recent years on the basis of more careful investigation, and this characteristic of dissimilar, even opposing, views in his teaching has been emphasized by both German and French scholars.[2] As has been frequently shown by Toplady, Schaff, Hunter, Scheibe, Doumergue, and as is proved by his own utterances, Calvin had not committed himself to the extreme supralapsarian position of Gomar, that the decree of reprobation preceded that of the fall. Even Gomar, champion of high Calvinism as he was, did not dare to press this point to a decision, for it was clear that on this point he could not carry either his own Calvinistic colleagues, the foreign, or the Dutch delegates. In view of the many misleading statements on the subject it is desirable to emphasize the fact that the Synod did not take a supralapsarian position, and that moreover this was not a point at issue between the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants. The controversy over supralapsarianism was within the ranks of the "orthodox" themselves. They eventually "huddled the matter up," so that their differences should not appear in the final decision. This took the view of fallen man (*homo lapsus*) as the subject of the decree of reprobation, a view in harmony with the earlier Calvinistic creeds and therefore acceptable to the more moderate Contra-remonstrants and to the English and other foreign delegates, who had sharply disagreed with Gomar. In opposing this view, Gomar re-

[1] Episcopius, *Apologia pro Declaratione Remonstrantium*, ch. v, § 64; *Episcopii Opera*, II, pt. II, 141.
[2] Doumergue, *Calvin*, IV, 276 f.

fused to sign the statements of the other theological professors, while they in turn declared their disagreement with him. That it was Gomar and not Arminius who opposed the teaching of the Dutch church in this matter was maintained by Corvinus and Limborch, and their position is justified by the evidence both of the earlier creeds and of the action at Dort.

III

To understand the discussions over the speculative questions at Dort, it is necessary to take up in succession the five articles submitted in 1610 by the Remonstrants, defended and further elaborated by them at Dort, and condemned *in toto* by the Synod. For the sake of clearness and at the risk of neglecting the more delicate shades of speculative theology, these five articles may be summarized as follows: (1) double predestination was conditioned on faith; (2) Christ died for all, but no one enjoys forgiveness but the believer; (3) fallen man is powerless to accomplish anything truly good until he is born again and his will renewed; (4) all good is dependent upon the grace of God, but this grace is not irresistible; (5) grace is adequate, but it was not yet clear whether true believers can lose that grace. On this fifth article the Remonstrants at Dort went farther than in 1610, and asserted that true believers might fall away from the true faith. On the other hand they remonstrated in 1610 against the following points as contrary to the Word of God and not contained in the Dutch catechism and confession, viz.: that God predestined men without any regard to belief or unbelief; that Christ did not die for all men but only for those elected in the way indicated above; that in the elect the grace of God is irresistible; that those who have once received the true faith can never lose it wholly, of however great sins they may become guilty.

(1) In regard to the relation between faith in Christ and election, the Calvinistic creeds and catechisms had always

been careful to connect the two, but had been content to describe the process as "elected in Christ," and to emphasize the need of faith. They had not sought to teach definitely whether God in predestination had or had not foreseen faith. These statements of the Calvinistic creeds the Remonstrants accepted. What they remonstrated against was the new teaching of the scholastics or Contra-remonstrants that God elected without regard to faith and obedience (Article I, §§ 1, 6, 7).

(2) Of the second article, the nature of the redemptive work of Christ, in which the Remonstrants said, "Christ died for all men and every man," "yet no one enjoys his forgiveness of sins except the believer," Calvin at times seemed to lay down a similar liberal view. "Our Lord Jesus came not to reconcile a small number of people to God his Father but wished to extend his grace to the whole world." Yet in view of other passages and interpretations Calvin cannot fairly be claimed as a clear advocate of universal redemption, and on this point again he did not take hard and fast ground.[1]

Even Calvin's own trusted lieutenant and successor Beza was in doubt about Calvin's meaning in his treatment of the decree of man's fall and Christ's saving work, and the subordination of this decree to that on election and reprobation, and wrote asking Calvin about this.[2] It is therefore no wonder that there was difference of opinion not merely between Contra-remonstrants and Remonstrants but within the Synod itself.

Whether the expression, "Christ died for all men," was "to be understood of all particular men or only of the elect who consist of all sorts of men, Dr. Davenant [Bishop of Salisbury] and Dr. Ward [Professor at Cambridge] are of Martinus of Bremen his mind that it is to be understood of

[1] Cf. his liberal sermon on 1 Tim. 2, 3; 5–6, in *Opera*, LIII, 161, with the more exclusive interpretation in *Commentaries* on same passage, *Opera*, LIII, 268–269; the latter in Calvin, *Commentaries*, Translation Society.

[2] Scheibe, *Calvin's Praedestinationslehre*, 90.

all particular men," wrote the Scotch delegate. He himself and the two other British delegates, Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, and Dr. Goad "take the other position." [1] The Hessian delegates also reported to their prince that differences on this point were more important than on any other article. The delegates from Hesse, Nassau, and Bremen, and even Sibrandus, orthodox professor of theology in Friesland, urged the necessity of the distinction maintained by Ursinus and Pareus "between the sufficiency of Christ's death which applied to all men . . . and the efficiency thereof which . . . applies only to the elect." But "dissension with others who deserted Ursinus and Pareus and followed Beza and Piscator" resulted in "canons on this matter conceived in general terms without prejudice to either party." [2] On this point the Calvinists who condemned the Remonstrants were themselves divided, some moving from the more inclusive teachings of Calvin, Ursinus and Pareus, and the received creeds to the narrower scholastic interpretation of Piscator of Nassau and of Beza, who went so far as to restrict the message, "God so loved the world," so as to mean "God so loved the elect," a perversion of which Calvin was never guilty. The one thing on which the precisians were agreed was, as the Scotch delegate expressed it, their eagerness to "kill the Remonstrants"; on the question of redemption, the Remonstrants seem to have been as good Calvinists as their more rigid opponents, and saner theologians than these were. It was not Calvinism that the Remonstrants rejected but Bezaism. Both before and after Dort, it is Beza who is criticized by the Remonstrants, not Calvin, save in very rare instances. On the other hand the rigid Contra-remonstrants were reactionary on the extent of the love of God as manifested in Christ, a matter far more critical for the future of Calvinism and Christianity than the question of exact sequence involved in man's fall

[1] Hales, *Remains*, ed. 1659, 2; ed. 1673, 101.
[2] "Literae del. Hassiacorum," in Niedner's *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1851, p. 305.

and reprobation or in faith and election. These precisians tied up "high" Calvinism to Beza's narrower view that "the saving efficacy of the most precious death of his Son should extend to all the elect . . . alone," and that his death should redeem "those only." [1]

The Remonstrants were truer to the more liberal spirit of Calvin, whose profound vision drew the following picture: "In the person of our Lord Jesus Christ we see God as it were with his arms open to receive those who seem to be separated from him; so that he fails not to hold out to us that those who to-day seem to be entirely deprived of the hope of salvation should return to the flock." Coupled with this stirring conception was the practical social sense that has for centuries made Calvin and his followers missionaries in every land. "Since the work of our Lord Jesus Christ extends in general to all people," "and he invites us all to him," "should we not stretch out the hand to those who know not what that union is, so that they may draw near?" [2] It should be remembered that Calvin was not merely jurist and professor of theology but shepherd of souls, a man who could win the coöperation of even Jeanne the baker-woman, who gave her five sous to his university of Geneva, who knew the common people in Geneva and sometimes spoke the *argot* of their market-place; and who literally made his auditors at the back of the church sit up. Trainer of other pastors, he won men of different temper and capacity from all lands to work out his programme—Knox from Scotland, Peter Martyr from Italy, Germany, and England, and St. Aldegonde from the Netherlands. A teacher "with something both pastoral and priestly," he could fascinate a young blood like Beza fresh from his erotic poems, and turn his talent and that of a Bohemian like Marot into writing the marseillaise-like Psalms of the Huguenots. He persuaded Maturin Cordier to come to teach little boys in Geneva,

[1] Acts of Synod, "Second Head," Art. VIII; Schaff, I, 587.
[2] Sermons on 1 Tim. 2, 5–6, *Opera*, LIII, 161.

and for them put a sane theology into good conversational Latin. "Good morning," says one of these Genevan lads of the dialogues of "old Cordery" to his fellow pupil, "how is your mother?" "Better," says the second. "Who cured her?" "The chief Doctor." "Who is he?" "God himself." "I have no question of that, but by whose means?" "Master Sarasin's." "What remedies did he use?" "Medicines." Calvinism had not merely profound vision, it had common sense.

(3) The third article of 1610 was reaffirmed verbatim by the Remonstrants in 1618. It is such good Calvinism and has been so often misunderstood that it deserves to be quoted in full as indicating the real views of Arminius, Uytenbogaert, Episcopius, and the Dutch Remonstrants, so unlike those views of freedom of will and reliance on good works that have been so often described as Arminian.

> Man has not saving grace of himself, nor of the energy of his free will, inasmuch as he, in the state of apostasy and sin, can of and by himself neither think, will, nor do anything that is truly good (such as saving faith eminently is), but it is needful that he be born again of God in Christ, through his Holy Spirit, and renewed in understanding, inclination, or will, and all his powers, in order that he may rightly think, will, and effect what is truly good (*salutaria bona*).[1]

This sound doctrine as part of the Five Articles was condemned by the Synod of Dort as being false (*Acta*, I, 323). Calvin had likewise denied just this kind of "will free for good," as both he and Augustine expressed it; and had maintained that "the will is so bound by the slavery of sin that it cannot make a move toward goodness." "Whatever good is in the human will is the work of pure grace." Indeed, Calvin, while, like the Remonstrants, he denied the freedom of the will, was more liberal than they, and he foreshadows

[1] *Acta . . . Remonstrantium*, I, 74; Schaff, *Creeds*, III, 546, for 1610, which appends quotation from John 15, 5.

the position of Locke and Edwards, as well as illustrates his own balance and discrimination, when he says:

> I have no wish to fight about the matter of free will, if it is once settled that liberty ought to be referred not to the power of choosing equally good or evil but to spontaneous motion and consent;

and again:

> If liberty is opposed to coercion or force, I confess and constantly assert that the will is free. If it is called free in this sense because it is not forced or violently drawn by external movement, but is led on *sua sponte*, I have no objection to this.[1]

(4) The fourth article of 1610 strongly emphasized the power of the grace of God, without which man cannot will any good or resist temptation, "so that all good must be ascribed to the grace of Christ." At Dort the Remonstrants strengthened this by even more explicit denial of the freedom of the will. Taken with the preceding article this seems in all fairness to clear the Remonstrants from the frequent and unjustifiable accusations that they asserted either freedom of the will or the merit of works. On the contrary, they were both Calvinist and orthodox in their emphasis on the weakness of man and on his necessity for relying on the power of God. Even in their assertion of the coöperation of grace they were not at variance with Calvin's somewhat guarded admission of coöperation. Further, the Remonstrant attitude that grace was not irresistible is in general harmony with Calvin's position that the will was not free to incline to God but was free to incline to evil; and Schweizer appears to be correct in his belief that Calvin never used the word "irresistible" as applied to grace. Nor has the present writer found either the word or the thing embodied in any creed accepted by Calvinists as of symbolical au-

[1] Calvin, *Serv. et Lib. Hum. Arbit.*, and in his *De Lib. Arbit.*, quoted in Cunningham, *Reformers*, 498; Citations from Locke and Edwards, 498, 487. Cf. *Institutes*, II, iii, 5, 6, 13, 14, and II, ii, 26. See Locke, *Works*, 1751 edition, III, 487.

thority, that is, adopted officially by any national church before Dort.

(5) The fifth article, which denies the perseverance of the saints, is not in opposition to any creed given symbolical authority before 1618, so far as has been discovered, with the single exception of the articles adopted by Convocation of the Irish Episcopal Church, 1615 (Articles 37, 38), and Schweizer is again apparently correct in his general denial that Calvin ever uses the word "inamissible," that is, declares that grace could not be lost.[1]

On the twin points of general redemption and perseverance of believers (Articles III and V), the possibility of showing Calvin in sympathy with the broader view was strikingly shown in the seventeenth century by two liberal Calvinists. Moses Amyrault, pupil of the Scottish John Cameron, at first a lawyer but converted to theology through Calvin's *Institutes* and later professor at the Huguenot university of Saumur, liberalized Calvin's teaching and yet preserved both it and himself within the limits of orthodoxy. He was able to meet the objections of his colleagues, and at the Huguenot synods to escape the fate of the Arminians in Holland, partly because he was somewhat less radical and made out a strong case through quoting Calvin himself, partly, it is probable, because in France no political reason called for the action demanded by the dominant political party in Holland. In sermons, pamphlets, and books written in defence of Calvin's doctrines of predestination, reprobation, universal grace, and also of particular grace, Amyrault brings out in scores of felicitously (and fairly) selected passages that Calvin "followed a *via media* and taught a universal grace which called all men to faith and repentance. Another grace which prepares men's spirits and affects them he makes peculiar to the elect." [2] He quotes from Calvin, chiefly from the *Commentaries*, scores of passages showing

[1] A. Schweizer, *Glaubenslehre der Evangel. Ref. Kirchen*, 1847, II, 123, 124.
[2] *Doctrinae de Gratia Particulari ut a Calvino explicatur defensio*, p. 1.

first that Calvin did teach the general redemptive purpose of God in Christ. Among these are the following sentences:

God desired that all people should share in his mercy and salvation.

The justice which is necessary to salvation extends to all the world.

God offers salvation indifferently to all the world.[1]

Jesus offers salvation indifferently to all and benignly extends his arms to all in order that all may have greater courage to repent.[2]

Then, however, Amyrault quotes Calvin's *Commentaries* showing that while God calls all men, and Jesus died for all men, yet the condition of salvation was faith and that this was knit with predestination. But this doctrine (in such close harmony with the Remonstrants) was presented by Amyrault in the form of quotations from Calvin, and in such wise that he did not run counter to Calvin's sequence in faith and election. He does bring out sharply that Calvin taught a conditional rather than an absolute decree, in the sense that the decree was conditional upon faith and in that respect not absolute. Calvin in his *Treatise on Predestination*, 1552, had pointed out that just as God had threatened to punish the Ninevites and the Egyptian kings, and yet forgave and remitted punishment when they ceased to be rebels, even though his threat had appeared to be absolute and irrevocable,

so in the reverse case the promises which invite all men to salvation do not determine precisely what God has determined in his secret council, but that which he is ready and willing to do for those who are brought to faith and repentance.

The question is not whether Jesus Christ is come into the world

[1] Calvin's *Commentaries*, Ezekiel 23, 32, quoted in Amyrault's *Eschantillon de la doctrine de Calvin touchant la prédestination*, Saumur, 1636, bound with *Six Sermons . . . de l'Évangile.*

[2] Amyrault, *ibid.*, quoting Calvin's *Commentaries*, John, ch. 12; same expression used repeatedly by Calvin, *e. g.*, *Commentaries*, Ezekiel, ch. 15; 18, 21–22; cf. above on 1 Tim. 2, 5–6.

to purge the sins of the whole world, for that is indisputable, but how this belief is to be reconciled with the contrary, that he is come that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have eternal life.

None can participate in Christ unless he has been adopted and chosen of God to be of his children.

Although the reconciliation made by him is offered to all, it is a special privilege of the elect to be gathered into hope of life.[1]

Another significant attempt to show that Calvin taught general redemption was made on a similar basis of quotations from Calvin by the Puritan divine John Goodwin, whose book in defence of the execution of Charles I was ordered to be burnt by the Oxford decree of 1683 in company with nearly thirty other Calvinistic writings. Goodwin was accused of Arminianism, but always denied it and quotes "many full and clear testimonies of their truthfulness [the doctrines of general redemption, and of the possibility of true believers falling away] from the pen of Calvin himself." Goodwin convincingly shows that all, Calvin and Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants, were not absolutely consistent, but at times approached one another. Where he himself approaches the Remonstrants, he holds that if his "opinion be Arminian," the ancient fathers and writers of the Christian church were generally Arminian; "yea that Calvin himself had had many pangs of Arminianism (at times) upon him; yea that the Synod of Dort itself was not free from the infection." [2] Goodwin, at a time when he was unquestionably a Calvinist, and had not been even accused of Arminianism, made a fine Calvinistic plea for not rejecting truth on the ground that it was new, any more than for rejecting belief that there was "an America on the ground that it had been so long unknown." He held with John Robinson "that not all scripture had yet delivered their treasure."

[1] From Calvin's *Traité de la prédestination*, without specific reference, quoted by Amyrault, *Eschantillon*, ed. 1658, 209, 211 f. Latin text in *Calvini Opera*, VIII, 300 f., 336.

[2] *Redemption Redeemed*, Preface, signatures $c3^{vo}$, $c4^{ro}$.

As to the question whether grace was resistible or irresistible, the orthodox Calvinist Pareus advised the Synod to relegate it to the Jesuits, the authors of the distinction.[1] Even in the Synod itself the orthodox member Sibrandus stated that on this point "there were some doubts which Calvin himself had not thoroughly satisfied." [2]

It is not meant by these examples to attempt to prove that the Remonstrants went on all fours with Calvin, for not even the "orthodox" Beza, Piscator, or Gomar did that. The point is that on these speculative matters where the Remonstrants objected to new and rigid scholastic definitions, Calvin and the accepted Calvinistic creeds had not attempted to pronounce definitively. Consequently in 1618 each side might have fairly regarded itself as Calvinistic, and might be so regarded to-day.

If anyone finds the inclusive view of Calvinism taken in this article vague and undiscriminating, so that he would still cling to double predestination as a more distinctive test, then by the same token the Remonstrants are Calvinists on the basis of the official statements presented at Dort and of the books of their leaders Episcopius and Limborch. At Dort the Remonstrants, more fearlessly "orthodox" than their opponents on this point, insisted on discussing the two sides of double predestination for the following reasons:

> Because it certainly tends much to the honor of God to think, speak, and write with truth concerning the severity of his justice, which is manifest in the business of reprobation, as well as of his mercy, which appears by his election.
>
> Because threatenings (which are the most effectually drawn from the decree of reprobation) are no less useful and necessary to deter the hearts of men from sin, than even those comforts that are derived from the doctrine of election.
>
> Because . . . neither have those famous men Johannes Calvinus, Beza, Zanchius, Sturmius, Piscator, and abundance more

[1] Hales, *Letters*, ed. 1659, 16–17; ed. 1673, 120.
[2] Hales, *Letters*, ed. 1659, 10.

ever made any scruple of speaking their minds freely upon this point. (Brandt, III, 92, "Reasons," 2, 3, 6.)

If the objection be made that the Remonstrants were not Calvinistic because they denied "absolute" decrees, it is necessary to define the Remonstrants' meaning from their own statements rather than from their opponents' accusations; and then to compare their statements with what Calvin felt it essential to put into creeds. The Remonstrants did not deny an absolute decree in the sense of denying the absolute sovereignty of God or the unchangeableness of the decree. Their first Article of 1610, like the later teachings of their leader Limborch (so heartily approved by John Locke), taught that God had decreed "by an eternal unchangeable purpose" to elect, but that this decree was conditioned on faith. In their own words, reaffirming and interpreting this article to the Synod, "the decree of God touching the salvation or perdition of every man is not an absolute decree of an end *without regard to any good or evil*," "*without respect to their unbelief or disobedience.*" [1] Calvin himself, as Amyrault so fully proved, taught a decree conditioned on faith and in that sense not absolute. It is true that the Remonstrants in the question of the causal relation between faith and predestination did not agree with all of Calvin's writings; but they were quite in harmony with all Calvin thought it necessary to put into creed or catechism, or with what stood in the other Calvinistic creeds of the Scotch and Dutch, and in the Heidelberg Catechism, with their constantly repeated phrase of "election in Christ." It was, then, in the sense of a decree conditioned on faith in Christ—a good Calvinistic doctrine—that the Remonstrants spoke of conditional rather than absolute decrees. Furthermore their object was to subserve God's honor, not to limit it.

[1] Brandt, II, 83–84, Art. I, §§ 2–6; Limborch's teaching "of Predestination both to Salvation and Damnation," *Theologia Christiana*, ed. 1700, Bk. IV, ch. i, §§ 5–6, p. 296, translated by Jones in *Compleat System*, Bk. IV, ch. i (II, 343).

If one contrasts Calvin's more simple, tolerant, and evangelical theology in his creeds, catechisms, sermons and the first edition of the *Institutes*, with the somewhat more technical and exclusive treatment in the *Commentaries* and the later editions of the *Institutes*, and then compares Calvin's two treatments with the statements of the two parties at Dort, it becomes clear that the Contra-remonstrant, or ultra-conservative, party was over-emphasizing the scholastic and more exclusive element in Calvin. The Remonstrants, the liberal party, were on the whole, with the inevitable revaluations after reinvestigation, following the liberating tendencies shown in Calvin, more markedly in his earlier writings. Different sides of Calvinism were emphasized by the two parties on points like general redemption, resistibility of grace, perseverance, where Calvin and the accepted Calvinistic creeds before Dort had wisely refrained from drawing hard and fast lines; and where Calvin and his disciples might be quoted with considerable fairness by each of two different parties, both by the rigid and by the liberal.

On the subject of the supralapsarian or sublapsarian view Calvin never "gave a formal and explicit deliverance" so that "neither party is entitled to claim him as an actual adherent." "He rather put aside these speculations and insisted on the great doctrine of predestination on which all Calvinists agreed." [1] When Calvin discussed predestination, even with the inner circle, the ministers of Geneva, he advised them to remember

> that the councils and secrets of God are depths into which it is not profitable to plunge,
>
> Let us be content with the Scripture.
>
> Without presuming to enquire what God had ordained before the creation of the world, let us follow solely what is said in Scripture.
>
> In general we must recognize that God governs by his Provi-

[1] Cunningham, *Reformers*, 358. Similar views in Hunter, *Teaching of Calvinism*, 122; Toplady, *Historic Proof of the Calvinism of the Church of England*, I, 161.

dence all things in such wise that his will is as it were the course of all.[1]

In accordance with this sound principle, Calvin everywhere insisted on God's providence and used the phrase "election in Christ," no less Calvinistic because it is scriptural. If we follow Calvin, who on such speculative matters as came up at Dort declined to take exclusive ground in creed or catechism, we should include as Calvinists both Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants. Calvin himself went so far as to publish with commendatory preface Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, although, as Grotius pointed out, he differed from them on the points of controversy between the Remonstrants and the Contra-remonstrants.[2]

If Calvinism had actually insisted upon only one view of all theological questions, no room could have been found for the liberal theologian Perrot in Geneva, for Pareus in Heidelberg, for Amyrault in France; and equally little for the conservatives Trochin and Turretini in Geneva or Piscator in Nassau. In fact, both the conservative and liberal interpretations could be and were drawn from the national church creeds, and were permitted until 1618, when a peculiar political and personal situation, united with theological bitterness, forced an unnatural decision. On this earlier, sounder basis the Calvinists of South Holland had urged that matters against Piscator be "not driven on with such heats" by the French; and Duplessis Mornay, the "Huguenot pope," persuaded both Piscator's follower Dan Tilenus and his opponent Peter du Moulin to own each other as orthodox. If Calvinism had meant simply the narrower interpretation, the good Calvinist Du Moulin would not have advocated tacitly passing by many things, "such as is the controversy moved by Piscator and many nice opinions proposed by Arminius concerning free will, the perseverance

[1] *Congrégation sur l'élection éternelle de Dieu*, 1551, *Opera*, VIII, 110–111, 115. Cf. Cunningham, 366.
[2] Brandt, II, 212.

of the saints, and predestination"; nor would that equally good Calvinist Pareus have "placed the articles of a divine predestination its cause and effects, and the nature of free will, not among the fundamentals of our faith but among those decisions about which men may disagree without breach of peace or charity."

These instances, cited by Grotius in his noble plea for comprehension and toleration addressed to the magistrates of Amsterdam in 1616, show historic Calvinism before Dort to have been comprehensive enough to cover both the liberal and the conservative. Even Jurieu, the paragon of stiff Calvinistic orthodoxy, admitted that the Synod of Dort did not regard the tenets there in question as necessary to salvation or as necessarily banishing from the Church of Christ. And the same comprehensive and tolerant attitude was manifested in the action of the Dutch authorities, until Maurice for political reasons took sides with the Contra-remonstrants.[1] Limborch, the later leader of the Remonstrants, shows that supporters of predestination conditioned on faith were always teaching, preaching, and writing, basing their doctrine on the Dutch national creed; and that both they and their opponents were tolerated until the Synod of Dort.[2] Before 1618 one looks in vain for any accepted national creed incorporating the exclusive teachings of this Synod. Nor were the Synod's decisions accepted as possessing symbolical authority by other national churches, with the single exception of the Huguenots; so that, as Rogge has pointed out, the Dutch from 1619 on were distinguished from other Calvinistic churches by the peculiar character of their creed. The Dutch Reformed Church in America wisely omits from its standards the rejection of errors and the sentence against the Remonstrants.

In worship, church and civil government, education, social and economic programme, even more than in theology, the Calvinism of Calvin and his contemporaries was marked

[1] Brandt, II, 211–213.

[2] *Hist. pred. cont. in Holland.*, III, 4.

by an adaptability which enabled it to become an international movement.

As in church government and worship, so also in civil government Calvin did not hold persistently to one form. After his wider experience in Geneva and Strasburg he made, as time went on, definite changes in government of both church and state looking toward a larger representative element. His working test in all these matters was that of "edification," which meant to the Calvinist the building up of the kingdom of God, not merely an appeal to the senses. Always there was the supreme test of maintaining God's will, his sovereignty, his Word. There might be the largest variety in worship or government of church or state, for the sake of adaptation to time, place, and people; with only one reservation constantly found incorporated in Calvinistic creed or catechism. In Geneva magistrate and simple citizen alike swore with uplifted hands to obey their own elected representatives "so far as is possible without offending God" and "in all statutes and ordinances which do not contravene the commandments of God." [1] The ministers swore obedience to law and magistrates with like acknowledgment of God's supreme sovereignty: "to serve rulers and people in all ways that shall not debar me from rendering to God the service which I owe him in my calling," . . . "without prejudice to the liberty which we have of teaching as God commands us." [2] So in worship decency and order were to be observed, and practical means like singing to lift up the soul to God, but there must be "no laws and constitutions made to bind the conscience, to oblige the faithful to things not commanded by God, to establish any other service of God than what he demands, or to bind to anything tending to break Christian liberty." Such was the creed of this first Puritan republic.[3]

It is in such provisions as these that one catches the early liberalizing promise of Calvin and Calvinism, the larger hope,

[1] "Confession," 1537, *Opera*, IX, 700. [2] *Opera*, X, 32. [3] *Opera*, X, 1698.

and the seeds of tolerance. Checked for a time by bitterness and disputes, and the militant spirit inseparable from a period of peril and war, the gentler and more liberal spirit sought an outlet under men like the Remonstrants, whom the too rigid Calvinists of the seventeenth century failed to recognize as true spiritual sons of Calvin and Geneva.

The Remonstrants in their very assertion of the duty of thinking for themselves, holding to the Scripture, maintaining the honor of God, and guarding the morals of their fellow-citizens against false reliance upon irresistibility of grace and perseverance of the saints, were Calvinists. Even in their reluctance to be bound by scholastic dogma and their assertion of the rights of conscience, they were like Calvin in his earlier period and in his creed, catechism, and ordinances for Geneva and his noble plea for Christian liberty of conscience. "No necessity must be laid on consciences in matters in which Christ has made them free." "Constitutions enacted for the purpose of binding the conscience inwardly before God" Calvin expressly condemned. The same position is taken by the Remonstrant leader Episcopius.[1] It is of even more vital significance that the passage of Calvin's *Institutes* on *Christian Liberty*, beginning, "when once the conscience is entangled in the net, it enters a long and inextricable labyrinth from which it is afterwards most difficult to escape," was quoted in full by Limborch, leader of the Remonstrants and Locke's friend and correspondent.[2] In this same book, Limborch (whom Locke rejoices to find "a theologian to whom I am not a heretic") shows the Remonstrants two generations after Dort still explicitly teaching the Calvinistic "two parts of predestination, one regarding those to be saved and the other regarding those to be damned." Limborch (like Calvin) regards "the demonstration of the glory of God as the end of pre-

[1] See his *Confessio Remonstrantium*, c. XV, xxiii; *Opera Theologica*, II, 88, 92.

[2] Calvin, *Institutes*, III, xix, 7, quoted by Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, ed. 1695, V, liv, 14, p. 554. See Locke's letter to Limborch, 10th May, 1695, in "Familiar Letters," *Works*, fol. ed. 1759, III, 595; ed. 1812, X, 46–47.

destination, of the decree of reprobation as well as of election"; and "the disproportion wherein God is pleased to communicate salvation to men," and dispenses his grace without respect to qualifications of persons, "as incomprehensible mysteries to be adored but not to be scrutinized (*adoranda mysteria nobis imperscrutabilia*) and depending upon the mere good pleasure of God." [1] Limborch's book also quotes Calvin's teaching regarding the lack of merit in man, and the merit of Christ as dependent solely upon the grace of God; and follows closely Calvin's arguments in defence of usury.[2]

Calvin, the liberal Calvinists at Dort, their later leader and scholar Limborch, and the success of the experiment in toleration in Holland are links in the hitherto almost unrecognized chain of toleration which, in spite of weaknesses and apparent breaks, comes down from the earlier and more liberal Calvin through the liberal Calvinists, not only those of Holland but also those, like Roger Williams in America, Claude in France, in England Vane, Goodwin, Milton, at Oxford John Owen, Lewis du Moulin, and their pupil John Locke, in whom all the liberal elements in Calvinism—Puritan, Huguenot, Remonstrant—crystallized and passed over to America. In the Calvinistic Netherlands, from the time of William the Silent, there was a tolerance, sometimes checked, as at Dort, but nowhere else carried out so early or on so broad a scale. Toleration marched along with the remarkable burst of intellectual, artistic, social, and political life in the Netherlands that culminated in the first half of the seventeenth century and made the Calvinistic United Provinces not merely the artistic and scholarly centre of Europe, but the greatest commercial and colonial power of that day, until she was outdistanced by another Puritan commonwealth, her rival across the English Channel.

[1] *Theologia Christiana ad praxin pietatis*, IV, i, §§ 5–6, 15–16.

[2] Limborch, *Theologia Christiana*, III, xxi, 9, quoting from Calvin's *Institutes*, III, xvii, 1, on Usury, Bk. V, ch. xxxviii, §§ 27–31. (English translation by Jones, V, xvi, 1. Cf. *Calvini Opera*, X, 245–249.)

At Dort, under a temporary abandonment of their characteristic tolerance, both sides went beyond Calvin, and debated, with a bitterness and personal animosity that disgusted the foreign delegates, over questions as to which the larger-minded Calvin had recognized finite limitations in discussing the problems of the infinite.

The modern scholar will be apt to agree with the Estates of Holland and with Grotius, who, speaking in their name in 1608, held that between Arminius and Gomar, or between Remonstrant and Contra-remonstrant, "there was no considerable difference." [1] Arminius himself held that "the points in controversy between him and Gomar were not so numerous as they had been represented; that he had always confined himself within the Confession of the Dutch churches, and was still desirous to adhere to it." [2] Grotius, in an official attempt of Calvinistic magistrates to persuade men to tolerance and peace, rightly emphasized the positive contributions which each side was making rather than the denials of sound doctrine which each side somewhat sophistically put into the mouths of opponents in order to condemn them. This scholar and advocate of Holland said:

> The design of the Contra-remonstrants is that we should ascribe the origin of our salvation entirely to the mercy of God, exclusive of all merits. Who can find fault with it? The meaning of the Remonstrants is that no person ought by us to be entirely deprived of the hope of salvation. This the Contra-remonstrants do not oppose.
>
> The Contra-remonstrants seek to guard against all despair; . . . the Remonstrants to draw people off from carelessness.[3]

A member of the Synod felicitously described the Remonstrants as *canonici irregulares*, "irregular regulars." His humor was so dry that an outsider like Hales "failed to see the sap of this wit," and was surprised that it so deeply

[1] 1608, Brandt, II, 47; 1611, 93; 1616, 208 f.
[2] Nichols, *Arminius' Works*, I, 522.
[3] Brandt, II, 227, Grotius to Magistrates of Amsterdam, 1616.

amused "even the gravest of the Synod." If one may venture to probe a joke three hundred years old, the Synod saw that their indiscreet brother had blurted out the truth, and that the Remonstrants whom they were already prepared to condemn were nothing but "irregular regulars."

Fundamental difference of doctrine was not the real ground for the excommunication and banishment of the Remonstrants. The reason for expulsion from both church and country appears as one studies the development of the struggle before 1618 and the story of the sessions of the Synod. It was a family quarrel, and the reason why the liberal and conservative Calvinists could not get on in the same church and nation was like that of own brothers in such a case: they had too many points of contact.

In Holland the points of contact between the "brothers badly split by prejudice," as John Owen described them, were these: a strongly personal phase of theological and academic rivalry between Arminius and Gomar; a political antagonism, personal in its nature, between Grotius and Barneveldt on the one side and Maurice on the other; a foreign question which involved the relations with Spain and also the desirability of keeping on good terms with James I, who urged the prosecution of the Remonstrants, and as Defender of the Faith threatened to take joint action with other Reformed churches if the Netherlands did not act; and an internal difference on the matter of the centralization of power in the House of Orange when the latter was facing diminished influence upon the cessation of war and war-powers. Under the Remonstrant leader Barneveldt the whole question in its combined political, religious, and personal phases was so vital to the safety of Holland that a revolution seemed to threaten. There was some violence on the part of the Remonstrants in Holland; the Contra-remonstrant ministers in that province were ousted from their pulpits; and the Estates ordered their soldiers to transfer their allegiance from the national to the provincial govern-

ment. The Remonstrants even began to levy troops of their own. Prince Maurice therefore concluded that Barneveldt and his adherents, political and religious, were dangerous; and after the manner of the House of Orange he struck hard. In addition to the evidence of political influence quoted in the contemporary letters of Hales and Balcanqual, Brandt quotes other evidence of political pressure at the instance of the Remonstrants which should probably be viewed with more caution. Certainly, however, some weight must attach to the criticism of the Contra-remonstrant delegate Martinius of Bremen: "The Synod is nothing more than a political farce or comedy, in which the statesmen act the chief part." The orthodox delegate Goclenius, the *enfant terrible* who confessed the Remonstrants to be "irregular regulars," again blurted out the truth when he apologized for his conservativism on the ground that "we find that the prince and the state will have it so." [1]

> The civil magistrate will suffer none to appear on the council but such as approve their doctrine,

wrote the tolerant Calvinist Lewis du Moulin, Locke's Puritan Professor of History at Oxford;

> That is what the sovereign power did very prudently in the Low Countries when they summoned a Synod at Dort.
>
> The fathers of that Synod were not impartial . . . but were both judges and parties of favorers of one side, and consequently the Arminians could not but lose their cause before such a tribunal.[2]

The answer to the question who were Calvinists at the Synod of Dort is that both Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants were Calvinists, but of different schools, the former liberal and progressive, the latter conservative, scholastic, and rigid. "Both are right in what they admit, both are wrong in what they deny," is the judicious con-

[1] Brandt, III, 283, 211.

[2] *Paraenesis*, ch. xxiii, paragraph 7.

clusion of Schaff.[1] The distinction between the two schools of Calvinists is made with more assurance since it is for substance admitted by four modern historians. In Geneva, Dr. Choisy—like Calvin, both pastor and professor—concludes his scholarly study of the Calvinistic Christian state at Geneva in the time of Beza with these remarks:

> It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the Calvinism of Calvin and that of the end of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The Calvinism most truly Calvinistic is that of the first edition of the *Institutes* and of the Catechism (p. 554).

Professor Borgeaud, to whom all students of Calvinism owe grateful indebtedness, has in his monumental history of the University of Geneva an illuminating passage on the reactionary theology of the successors of Beza, typified by the Genevan delegates to Dort ("*les épigones*," "*l'intransigeance dogmatique*"); and suggests the other side in his description of the liberal Perrot, teacher and counsellor of Arminius and Uytenbogaert (I, 337–338, 158). Blok, most distinguished and sober of modern Dutch historians, says:

> Calvinism was divided from the earliest days of its appearance in Holland. In the Synods the precisians and the liberals, different fundamentally in character, were already ranged into parties.[2]

The view of the Arminians as "a party in the state rather than a sect in the church" is confirmed by such a detached and judicious observer as Sir William Temple, who resided in Holland in 1672.[3] In America, that critically-minded investigator Professor C. A. Briggs, observes:

> The Calvinistic symbols do not make the mistake of the theologians of Switzerland and Holland. The scholastic theologians of Switzerland and Holland perverted these precious doctrinal achievements of Calvinism into hard, stern, and barren dogmas

[1] *History of the Christian Church*, VII, 815.
[2] *Hist. Netherlands*, II, ch. xxiv, p. 398.
[3] "Observations upon United Provinces," ch. vi, *Works*, 1731, I, 58.

by emphasizing their formal, technical, and merely external character.

In the Arminian conflict the scholastics were the bitter foes of Arminianism, and they went to such extremes of logical deduction that they sought to exclude from orthodoxy those who were more orthodox than themselves. They divided the Calvinistic camp into two parties, scholastic Calvinists and moderate Calvinists.[1]

Whatever view be held as to what was the most essential principle of Calvinism, there should no longer be any doubt in the mind of historical scholars that the Dutch liberals like Arminius, Episcopius, Limborch, and their adherents, were historically a part of the great international Calvinistic movement in worship, church government and discipline, political theory, social and economic programme—even in theology as embodied in the national creeds of the sixteenth century, a movement which can be traced back to the *Institutes* of Calvin and the institutions of the little republic of Geneva, the first example of that Puritan idea of a Commonwealth which spread through Holland, England, and Scotland to the New World.

[1] *American Presbyterianism*, 24.

INTERNATIONAL CALVINISM THROUGH LOCKE AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1688[1]

TWO contemporary observers picture the influence of John Locke in two revolutions. Shortly after the publication in 1690 of Locke's *Two Treatises of Government*, justifying the principles of the English Revolution of 1688, his fellow-exile in Holland, the Huguenot critic Bayle, wrote: "Locke's Civil Government proves that the sovereignty belongs to the people." "This is the gospel of the day among Protestants." During the American Revolution Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, remarked: "The Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war."

Locke was common property on the eve of the American Revolution. He was quoted in its defense by James Otis, John Adams, Sam Adams, and the Boston town meeting, the Massachusetts assembly, Revolutionary preachers—Howard, West, Stillman, Haven, Whitaker; owned and studied by Jonathan Mayhew; read and recommended by Hamilton, Franklin, and Jefferson; and incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. His works were in scores of colonial libraries—of Weare, Revolutionary "President" of New Hampshire, Presidents Wheelock of Dartmouth and Witherspoon of Princeton (signer of the Declaration), William Byrd of Virginia, the semi-public libraries of Providence, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and the college libraries of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth where his *Government* was drawn out eight times, 1775–1776. Locke was an essential element of what Jefferson called "the American mind."

Locke's influence in government was strengthened by his vogue in philosophy and theology. The *Essay concerning*

[1] Reprinted from *American Historical Review*, April, 1927.

Human Understanding was the standard college text-book in Revolutionary days. The "new method of Scripture Commentary, by Paraphrase and Notes," of "the Great Mr. Locke" made his "reputation as a Scripture Commentator exceeding high with the public," wrote President Stiles of Yale, 1775.

Locke was the more acceptable in America because he restated familiar teaching. Jefferson said of the Declaration of Independence: "All its authority rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or in the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc." John Adams coupled with Locke as "defenders of liberty and consummate statesmen," Sidney, Milton, Vane, Selden, Harrington, and Ponet (Calvinistic Anglican bishop) who taught "all that was afterwards dilated upon by Locke." In the *American Register*, 1769, a cartoon labelled "An Attempt to land a Bishop in America" pictures the bishop hastily reimbarking, murmuring "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." The hostile crowd hurls "Calvin's Works," grasps "Sidney on Government" and "Locke" as additional missiles, and waves banners characterizing alike these authors and New England: "No Lords Spiritual or Temporal in New England," "Liberty and Freedom of Conscience."

The political teachings of Locke had been demonstrated as practicable in nine Calvinistic revolutions of representative assemblies against tyranny of bishop or prince: in Geneva, 1536; Scotland, 1559, 1567; the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581; the Huguenot civil wars culminating in the Edict of Nantes, 1598; Bocskay's Hungarian revolt of 1606; the Scottish Covenanters, 1638; England in the Civil War, and the Revolution of 1688.

Locke cites authorities sparingly; but in his *Two Treatises of Government*, his citations are almost entirely Calvinistic: Scripture seventy-nine times; seven Calvinists (Hooker,

Bilson, James I, Milton, Hunton, Ainsworth, Selden); one ex-Calvinist, the Dutch Remonstrant Grotius; and only one reference uninfected by Calvinism, the Scottish Catholic Barclay.

Hooker, the secular writer chiefly quoted in Locke's *Government*, was greatly indebted to Calvin and perpetuated his influence. "The judicious Hooker" cites a dozen times Calvin, "concerning whose deserved authority even among the gravest divines, we have already spoken at large," "his rescripts and answers of as great authority as decretal epistles." "In theology thousands indebted to him, he only to God." Hooker and Bishop Bilson (like other Puritans and Anglicans to about 1636) were brought up on Calvin's *Institutes;* and these good churchmen and good doctrinal Calvinists give repeated and convincing evidence of the hold Calvin had in sixteenth-century England. A careful reading of Hooker convinces one that he has rightly been recognized by Keble, Goode, and Mozeley, as Calvinistic in doctrine, though moderate here as always, and differing in matters of church polity from the Puritans and somewhat from Calvin. Sidney Lee has sound evidence for his conclusion that in the "mingling of theology and political philosophy" of the famous *Ecclesiastical Polity* "the Frenchman Calvin may well claim the main credit of laying the foundation on which Hooker built." In addition to Calvin, Hooker cites a score of Calvinists whose influence filtered through Locke: Beza and Goulart; Scaliger and the Dutch Calvinistic creed; Cartwright, Reynolds, Fenner; Mornay and the *Vindiciae;* Peter Martyr, and John a Lasco.[1]

Three other Calvinistic authors, cited by Locke in his *Government*, were indebted to the Calvinists quoted by Hooker and to some thirty others whom they cite. Bishop

[1] Hooker (Keble ed.), *Works*, citing Calvin: I, 127, 131–133; II, 542–543; III, 47, 525, 586; Goode, *Doctrine of Church of England*, pp. 103–104, quoting Hooker, *Works*, III, ii, 588–589, 642–643; II, 324, 751, on his Calvinism; Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, p. 138; *id.*, "Hooker," *Dict. Nat. Biog.;* Mozeley, *Predestination*, note xix, p. 378 (1878); Hooker, *Works*, pref., vol. I, pp. lxvi, lviii.

Bilson, unquestionably Calvinistic, and of high repute in the English church, built upon "Father Calvin," "Brother Beza," the Calvinists in Holland and France; and justified on a Calvinistic basis the revolts in Scotland, France, and Holland, in his *True Difference between Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion*, written in 1585 at Elizabeth's instigation to justify English support of these successful rebels, one of the books most frequently quoted in support of the Civil War and the Revolution.

The learned and moderate Selden was a Calvinist in doctrine, good enough to sit as active member of the Westminster Assembly; and in matters of state and church government in substantial accord with Calvin though not always with the Presbyterians. Selden in his opposition to *jure divino* bishops or *jure divino* presbyters resembled Calvin, Locke, Milton, and Falkland. Selden owned and quoted with approval Calvin's catechism, Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques*, and three Calvinistic creeds, and the *Laws and Statutes of Geneva*, regarded Calvin and Beza as *doctissimi*, cited them with approval some forty-eight times, their Huguenot follower Hotman twenty-five times, and twenty other Calvinists in all over four hundred times.

Milton closely resembles Locke in opposition to tyranny (whether of king, bishop, or presbyter) and in support of tolerance and revolution, upon Calvinistic grounds of contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people. After visiting Geneva, where "I was in daily converse with that most learned theological professor, John Deodati," Milton wrote: "where in the Christian world doth learning more flourish than in Belgia, Helvetia, and that envied Geneva?" His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in support of Calvinistic resistance, cites or quotes Calvin; the Dutch Declaration of Independence; the German Pareus and the Italian Peter Martyr, both so influential in England and Germany; Knox, Buchanan, and the commissioners justifying the deposition of Mary Stuart on Calvinistic grounds. After citing

eight exiles in Geneva (including Knox, Goodman, Cartwright, Fenner, and Whittingham), and the "Congregations" in Germany and Geneva, Milton adds: "These were the true Protestant divines of England, our fathers in the faith we hold." The influence of these Calvinists and of the Huguenots Hotman and Mornay (*Vindiciae*) Milton passed on to Locke and New England which he praised for its opposition to bishops, and where Milton's own "principles generally prevail," wrote Jonathan Mayhew, 1761.[1]

Hooker, Bilson, Selden, Milton are significant examples of the links in the chain of Calvinistic resistance to tyranny forged at Geneva, and through Locke connected with the Revolutions of 1688 and 1776. Of some twenty-six Calvinistic writers who directly influenced Locke, John Adams cited or owned a score. James Otis, quoting Locke, said he might equally well have cited Sidney and the "British Martyrs," but these would have led to the outcry of rebellion. Locke was, as he himself advised, careful not to "shock the received opinions of those one has to deal with." He was judicious in citation and argument and though of Puritan strain and views was in communion with the "established church."

The half-dozen writers on government and law, outside of Locke, best known in America reveal the same red thread of Locke and Calvinism.

Grotius was bred a Calvinist, under the teaching of the Huguenot Pierre Moulin (father of Locke's own teacher), and of Uytenbogaert who brought to Holland counsel of tolerance from the Calvinist Perrot, professor and rector of Geneva University. Grotius remained a liberal Calvinist of the type represented by the Dutch and other sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds until he and that type were condemned, largely for political and personal reasons, at the

[1] Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sections 8, 9, 11, 17, 20, 35, 37, 38, 60, 61; *Common Place Book* (1877, Camden Soc.), pp. 31–33, 39. See also *Defensio Prima* and *Secunda*, and *Animadversions on Remonstrants*. Allison (introd. *Tenure* in Yale Studies) incorrectly accuses Milton of "wresting" Calvin; cf. *Institutes*, IV, xx, 31 ("Ephors") and sermons on Dan. iv, 25, vi, 22.

Synod of Dort. Grotius owed even more than he confessed to the Italian refugee Gentilis, professor at Puritan Oxford, whose own *De Jure Belli* (1588, 1597) and other writings, his affiliations with the London Huguenot church, and his father's specific statements prove him to have been a Calvinist.[1]

Blackstone has been shown by Pollock to have "substantially followed Locke, so that his *Commentaries* were a vehicle of Locke to a numerous and public-spirited band in the American Colonies."[2] Burlamaqui, to whom Blackstone was also indebted, was widely read in the colonies. His *Principles of Natural and Political Law*, of which seven editions were published in English before 1800, was a text-book in colonial colleges, and until 1810, being read in Dartmouth by Webster and Salmon P. Chase. John Adams's autograph copy has annotations revealing careful study. Burlamaqui was Genevan born and bred, and received promotion and warm support from the strong Calvinistic rectors and professors of theology who praised him for his religion as well as his jurisprudence in terms so cordial as to indicate his sympathy with Calvinism.[3]

Vattel, whose *Droit des Gens ou Principes de la Loi Naturelle* appeared in at least fourteen editions between 1758 and 1802, was the son of a Calvinist minister, and a pupil of Burlamaqui in the University of Geneva. Montesquieu apparently drew in some measure upon Locke, the results of the Revolution of 1688, and the Puritan Sidney's *Discourse upon Government*. He recognizes the fitness of Cal-

[1] Gentilis's father's statements, Hotman, *Epist.* 18, p. 328, and 3, p. 261; quoted in Speranza, *Gentili Studi*, p. 60. Further evidence in Gentilis *De Nuptiis* (74 citations from Calvin in first third alone); and in Holland, *Studies in International Law*, and preface to 1877 reprint of *De Jure Belli*. Grotius and Remonstrants, Foster, "Liberal Calvinism," *Harvard Theological Review*, 1923, pp. 1–37.

[2] "Locke's Theory of the State," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1903–1904, pp. 237–249.

[3] Reeves, *American Journal of International Law*, 1909, p. 505 (Blackstone). Borgeaud, *Hist. Univ. Genève*, vol. I, and copy generously furnished by him of A. Lullin's inedited MS., "De Obitu J. J. Burlamaqui mei Consolatio." Lullin, a good Calvinist, praises Burlamaqui's belief ("Christi doctrinae"), his devotion to the "Evangelium," and his "sapientiam moralem."

vinism for republics, and records his admiration for Calvin's services to Geneva.[1] Rousseau, born and bred in Geneva, although at variance with Calvinistic theology and ethics, nevertheless in his *Contrat Social* warmly praised Calvin's contribution to liberty through his revision of the Genevan constitution. His further debt to Calvinism is acknowledged in his sixth *Lettre de Montagne*. "The unfortunate Sidney thought as I did . . . Althusius in Germany, Locke, Montesquieu. Locke especially treated these matters on exactly the same principles as I."

The red thread of Geneva and political Calvinism runs through non-Calvinists, as well as through a hundred Calvinistic writers and leaders between Calvin and Locke and another hundred between Locke and the American Revolution, supporting resistance to tyranny.

It remains to be shown: (1) how Locke inherited these Calvinistic influences; (2) how far he remained Calvinist himself; (3) what of Calvinism passed through Locke to eighteenth-century attempts at civil and religious liberty.

I

Locke's religious and political inheritance was received from eight sources. A strong Puritan influence came through his home and father, a captain in the Parliamentary army, and a Calvinist with strict ideas of discipline to which Locke acknowledged his debt. The Puritan inheritance was strengthened by four years in Westminster School, and eight at Oxford under the Puritan régime of Cromwell (in whose honor Locke wrote two poems), Owen, and Locke's tutor Cole. The professor of history, Lewis du Moulin, whom Locke was obliged by statute to hear, is an example of the international Calvinism which filtered through Locke. Son

[1] Dunning, *Political Theories*, II, 358, 386; Montesquieu, *Correspondance*, Feb., 1749, II, 127; *L'Esprit des Lois*, bk. XI, ch. VI; bk. X, chs. XV, XX; Theodore Pietsch, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Politischen Theorien Lockes zu Montesquieu's Lehre von der Teilung der Gewalten* (Breslau, 1887).

of the famous Pierre du Moulin (teacher of Grotius), Lewis du Moulin studied in the Huguenot universities, took his degrees at Geneva-like Leyden, and Puritan Cambridge and Oxford, where he was Camden Professor of Ancient History until the Restoration, a prolific writer of influence and breadth of view, whom the Anglicans vainly sought to win back from Independency. All his twenty books were recommended by Baxter; some cited by Bayle; six sent to Harvard by the liberal Hollis before the Revolution; and one was especially commended by Owen, Locke's college head. Du Moulin's lectures certainly, and probably his books discussing subjects on which professor and student were writing, would have been familiar to Locke. At Oxford Locke wrote but did not publish his "Reflections upon the Roman Commonwealth"; and in this and his *Defence of Non-conformity* (1682) followed closely the Huguenot-Puritan teachings of Du Moulin (published at almost the same time), in respect to the limitation of bishops' powers; simplification of ceremonies, avoiding things not required in Scripture; objections to any laws binding conscience, or to any coercive power in the church. Du Moulin, in his books and an unpublished manuscript on church history, maintained before Locke these and also Locke's other ideas that all churches were voluntary associations, and that the English church should be of the sixteenth-century type, comprehensive enough to include both Anglican and Puritan.

Like Locke, Owen, and scores of leading Anglicans and Dissenters, Du Moulin maintained the agreement of Church of England and Puritan in doctrine; and like Locke, made significant use of Anglican Calvinists, sixteen in all. He quotes Hooker, Calvin, and the other Calvinists upon whom Hooker and Locke built, and cites over forty Calvinists—Genevan, Swiss, Huguenot, Dutch, English, German, Scottish, Irish, Italian, American colonial. This international Huguenot-Dutch-Puritan Calvinist teacher of Locke taught and published the doctrines of fundamental law, contract

and consent of people, natural rights of equality, liberty, including tolerance and liberty of conscience, not only before Locke but in five books appearing during his presence at Oxford. Du Moulin is a significant factor in Locke's inheritance of international Calvinism.[1]

Locke was on friendly terms with Nonconformists like Baxter, many of whose views (so much like Du Moulin's) he reproduced, and with the Calvinist Tyrrell, nephew and defender of Usher, Calvinistic archbishop and Irish primate, whose work Locke possessed and praised. Finally there was the influence of Puritans whose books he owned or cited—Milton, Ainsworth, Sidney, John Sadler (author of the *Rights of the Kingdom*), Sir Harry Vane, and the Presbyterian Hunton.

The Huguenot influence was begun during Locke's four years' residence in France, 1675–1679. Observing and recording the sermons, services, and discipline of the Huguenots, he rightly concluded that their doctrine did not differ from that of Presbyterians or Church of England, and that their church, founded on voluntary consent, like that of Nîmes, resembled both the primitive church and his own ideal. Locke shared the Huguenot loyalist view before 1685, when they were enjoying rights guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes. It is significant that after the violation of that edict he followed their change of base and shared their revised views upholding resistance to tyranny based upon violation of contract and fundamental law. Locke participated in scholarly discussions at the home of the Huguenot canonist Justel. With him and the Huguenot refugees, whom he came to know during his exile in Holland, Locke continued his

[1] Du Moulin, *Paraenesis* (1656), epist. ded., and 637; *Power of Christian Magistrates* (1650), pp. 24, 17; *Right of Churches* (1658), epist. ded., and ch. I ("judicious Richard Hooker," p. 195). Cf. Locke, "Reflections Roman Commonwealth" (1667), Bourne, *Locke*, I, 147–154. Cf. Du Moulin, *Declaratory Considerations* (1679); *Short Account of Advance of Church of England toward Rome* (1680), pp. 56, 102, 104; *Appeal of Non-Conformists* (1680), pp. 1, 6, 15–16, with Locke, "Defence of Nonconformity" (1682), Bourne, *Locke*, I, 457–460; *First Letter concerning Toleration* (1689), and *Second Letter* (1690), *Works*, VI, 156.

friendships. He owned books by four Huguenot fellow-exiles: Jurieu, fiery controversialist and ardent supporter of the English Revolution; Jacquelot (closely resembling Locke); Claude, tolerant, and widely influential; Le Clerc, Remonstrant professor but Genevan-bred and formerly minister there. Bayle (critic and part-time Calvinist) Locke met, and pronounced his *Dictionary* "incomparable."

The third Calvinistic influence was the Dutch, during six years' exile preceding the Revolution, when Locke began his serious writing. Here he formulated his "Pacific Christians," a plan for a church (at once Puritan, Huguenot, and Dutch) founded upon consent and fundamental law of Scripture and governed democratically. In Holland, his ideas of toleration, observed in practice here and in Brandenburg, attempted by Independents in England, he incorporated and published in his *Epistola de Tolerantia*, an expansion of earlier, unpublished essays. It is in Holland (and after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes) that there are for the first time discoverable evidences of Locke's advocacy of resistance published in his *Government* on his return to England, 1690. Locke took active part in the negotiations regarding the English Revolution and came into trusted relations with William III.

From 1683 to 1689, Locke, a refugee and deprived of his Oxford studentship, lived in an atmosphere fermenting with ideas of religious toleration and resistance to tyranny. Huguenot refugees effectively aiding to unite Dutch, English, and the Great Elector of Brandenburg in resistance to Louis XIV, violator of the contract, fundamental law, and natural rights of liberty and freedom of conscience embodied in the Edict of Nantes; English and Scottish exiles hiding from religious and political oppression, and publishing accounts of earlier successful revolts against Stuart tyranny; Dutch Calvinists, proud of one successful revolt and preparing for another; the unorthodox Remonstrants, the "irregular regulars" of the Synod of Dort, once exiled but now tolerated and ad-

vocating tolerance—all these spiritual sons or stepsons of Calvin pullulated with ideas developed in discussion, and published in a mass of revolutionary books, periodicals, and pamphlets, Dutch, French, English, and German.

A further example of Calvinistic toleration Locke observed with commendation during two visits to Cleves, the Rhineland of that ardent Calvinist, hard hitter and shrewd diplomat, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, ally of William III and warm friend of the Huguenots. The ambassadorship to Brandenburg was later offered to Locke by William III.

An influence, diplomatically emphasized in Locke's *Government* but apt to be overlooked as Calvinistic, was that of the Anglican Calvinists, like Hooker, Bishop Bilson, and James I. Hooker's acceptance of Calvinistic doctrine was logically accompanied by a reproduction of Calvinistic political theories, fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people, and resistance. Bilson followed "Father Calvin" even more closely than Hooker, especially in church government. James I, thrice cited in Locke's *Government*, though cordially disliking the disciplinary functions of a "Scottish Presbytery, which, saith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy as God with the Devill," was nevertheless an orthodox Calvinist in doctrine (instigating and supporting the Synod of Dort) and helped to carry over to Locke Buchanan's Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law and contract.

Other Scottish Calvinists are not cited by Locke. Indirect influence they are likely to have had through their frequent use and citation by authors familiar to Locke; and Locke shows some interest in books on Scottish history. But "Scottish Presbytery" as well as Anglican "episcopacies," claiming apostolic authority, or coercive power over magistrates, Locke, like Baxter, Du Moulin, Falkland, Selden, and many other good English Calvinists expressly condemned.[1]

Two influences obviously affecting Locke were apparently

[1] "Sacerdos," King, *Life of Locke*, p. 291; "Toleration," *Works*, V, 14.

outside the pale of Calvinism: the Latitudinarians or Liberal English churchmen (including the Cambridge school), and in Holland the Remonstrants, especially Grotius and Limborch. Here we tread on debatable ground as to how much Calvinism remained with these men. What is indisputable is that through these liberal elements there passed to Locke the pervasive Calvinistic deposit. Falkland it is true opposed Puritan domination or *jure divino* presbytery and he loved peace and moderation. But the evidence warrants the conclusion of Tulloch and Seaton that Falkland "remained a Calvinist," like Locke strongly opposing *jure divino* episcopacy and imposition of ceremonies. Falkland in his parliamentary speeches denounced Arminianism and Laud, because they had "slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea." The close resemblance between Falkland and Locke is the more striking as it illustrates the fact that abandonment of Calvinism is not implied by either refusal of Presbyterian polity or by communion with the Church of England while seeking to restore sixteenth-century agreement with Huguenot and Dutch in place of seventeenth-century divine-right claims of bishops. Falkland moreover admired and "made very much use of" Daillé (with his characteristic Huguenot appeal to reason, linguistic and historic sense as well as to Scripture) and translated part of his *De Usu Patrum*. This also influenced Chillingworth, to whom Locke was indebted.

The liberal Cambridge Platonists "also sprang from the Puritan side," coming out of Emmanuel College that furnished New England with its pastors. Cudworth, to whom Locke was indebted, was "peculiarly associated during the Commonwealth with Cromwell and his friends," and was trusted by the Puritan House of Commons as preacher and Biblical expert.[1] Whichcote, trained in Emmanuel and by

[1] Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I, 155, 158; Seaton, *Toleration under Later Stuarts*, p. 52; Falkland's speech concerning episcopacy, in Marriot's *Falkland*, pp. 181–190.

Calvinistic teachers, "remained among the Puritans and was reckoned on their side," and "borrowed nothing from the Dutch Arminians." Denying that he had even heard of their *Apologia*, he added: "truly I have read more Calvin and Perkins and Beza than all the books, authors, or names you mention." [1]

The Dutch Remonstrants, to whom Locke was indebted and whom he came to resemble more closely, were outgrowths and preservers of the liberal side of Calvin and his contemporaries. Arminius, Uytenbogaert, and a dozen other Remonstrant leaders were among the 310 Dutch students bred at Geneva by 1605. Accepting the sixteenth-century Calvinistic creeds, but like Calvin (when he refused to sign the Nicene and Athanasian creeds) willing to be bound by creeds drawn from Scripture but not those constructed from men's decrees; quoting Calvin's *Institutes* on "Christian liberty"; agreeing with him on lack of merit in man, and on salvation through Christ as dependent solely upon the grace of God, without respect to qualifications of persons; continuing down to Limborch (Locke's friend) to teach Calvinistic double predestination—the Remonstrants were "a party in the state rather than a sect in the church," condemned for personal and political reasons, rather than for lack of the Calvinism of Calvin whom they quoted in opposition to their opponents and whose fundamental principles they reasserted. Even orthodox Calvinists who accepted the decrees of the Synod of Dort disapproved the illiberal attitude of the orthodox "Counterremonstrants," the "Epigones" or small fry of the seventeenth century. The synod's decrees never received symbolical authority outside of Holland and France. Locke's sympathy with the Remonstrants indicated (until 1695) antagonism to Synod of Dort Calvinism and its dogmatism on points left open in Calvin, but agreement with Calvin's Genevan creed and catechism, and with sixteenth-century Calvinism.[2]

[1] Tulloch, *op. cit.*, II, 7, 51, 72, 81.

[2] Foster, "Liberal Calvinism: the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort," *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, 1923, pp. 14–32.

Through direct and indirect influences, both orthodox and liberal, Locke became, in terms of his own medical profession, a "carrier" of Calvinism from the Reformation to the revolutions of 1688 and 1776. How far Locke himself remained a Calvinist must be answered from his own writings, and with careful discrimination as to time, and phases of Calvinism.

II

In doctrine, Locke's emphasis of the Calvinistic premises of absolute sovereignty of God and sole authority of Scripture "without any admixture of errour," led him logically to the Calvinistic conclusions of original sin, salvation only through grace and good pleasure of God and not through works, and to the doctrine of election as taught in the orthodox Calvinistic national creeds of Geneva, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland, the Palatinate, and England, drawn by Calvin, Knox, and his other sixteenth-century disciples bred in Geneva. Locke, accepting the Thirty-nine Articles, rightly felt (in common with scores of leading Anglicans and Puritans) that the two bodies "agree perfectly in doctrine." "Presbyterian, Independent, or Huguenot Church, or Church of England," "we suppose them to agree in doctrine." He held to this international sixteenth-century Calvinism until 1695, five years after publication of his *Government*, when he appears surprised to find himself at variance with Calvin and Turretini in their interpretation of Scripture.

From Calvinistic premises as to authority, he deduced Calvinistic conclusions as to sole authority of God and his word in the government of the church. Expressly approving the Huguenot and Independent church government, and their belief in churches as "voluntary associations," he testified to their safe foundation, and criticized the seventeenth-century Anglican clergy's policy as "too narrow and too clogged with stumbling blocks." Locke followed Calvin in

his opposition to "episcopacies" claiming power derived from the apostles or right to dominate in the church, and definitely approved churches like the Huguenot or Independent "voluntary associations" governed by "the assembly itself" or its "ancientest brethren," on the basis of "the Word of Truth revealed in the Scripture," but with no earthly master. "One alone being our Master, even Christ, we acknowledge no masters of our assembly."

In worship, Locke took Calvin's grounds of edification and liberty rather than "human tradition," and definitely followed him and the Puritans in opposing the cross in baptism, the requirement of kneeling at communion, or imposition of "any other ceremony not instituted by Christ himself." In worship, as in government and moral discipline in both church and community, "Locke remaining Puritan in spite of the progress of his ideas, sought always to restore the primitive church in its purity, and to complete the work of the reformers, who had been by circumstances forced to compromise." Locke's letters show him continuing to the last distinctively "Protestant," urging Englishmen to "imitate the zeal and pursue the knowledge of those great and pious men who were instruments to bring us out of Roman darkness and bondage." [1]

"Every man, according to what way Providence has placed him, is bound to labor for the public good." Thus reasoning from Calvinistic premises, Locke taught a dozen social and economic implications of Calvinism. "Talents" must be productive "for others." Even men not needing a "vocation" for livelihood, "by the law of God are under obligation of doing something." Education was likewise for the benefit of others, and implied avoidance of excess that would injure health, or failure to make best use of talents, whereby "we rob God of so much service and our neighbor of help." Thrift and benevolence insured to "the public good" the fruits of "talents" and "calling." Locke guarded against

[1] King, *op. cit.*, p. 277; Bastide, *Locke*, p. 77; *Works*, IX, 312.

waste through idleness "or sauntering humour," luxury, disease, vice, crime, and provided for Puritan discipline and inspection like that of Geneva and New England in education, morals, family, church, and community life. He was Calvinistic in his appeal to reason, and a "mind covetous of truth," and his zeal to "enterprise further," make "progress in reformation." In his tolerance—even in his exclusion of those who threatened tolerance itself or the safety of the Commonwealth—Locke was of the liberal Calvinistic type of William the Silent, Cromwell, Milton, Owen, Vane, Roger Williams, and Huet who appealed from "Calvin embittered against Servetus" to "Calvin speaking with tranquil spirit" in his chapter of "Christian Liberty." This social and economic Calvinism appears not merely in Locke's "Study," "Education," "Atlantis," "Pacific Christians," and other writings, but in his practical activities in colonial affairs, for ten years as "presiding genius" of the Board of Trade, and as promoter of reforms in poor-law administration, coinage, banking, censorship of press, and in encouragement of the manufacture of Irish linen. Finally, in his political theories, Locke epitomized the five points of political Calvinism.

If one carefully compares the writings of Calvin and twenty-five Calvinists known to Locke with the latter's *Government*, *Defence of Non-conformity*, "Pacific Christians," "Atlantis," *Letters on Toleration*, *Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in Scripture*, and *A Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's Epistles*, one finds ample evidence that Locke was not only distinctively a Biblical Christian, and in many respects markedly evangelical (regarding Christ as his personal Redeemer and Savior, risen from the dead, and to appear as the Judge of all the earth), but he was in worship, discipline, social and economic implications, political theories, and in all essentials of doctrine a Calvinist. It is true he was not of the narrower, scholastic seventeenth-century Calvinists, but rather he imbibed and passed on the moderate liberal Calvinism of the earlier unembittered

Calvin and the sixteenth-century creeds, preserved by Huguenots, Independents, sixteenth-century Dutch and Anglicans, and early Remonstrants. Tags are likely to be the misleading refuge of indolent minds, but if a tag is necessary Locke might be called an Anglo-Calvinist, or better an international Calvinist. His Calvinism was the temperate, statesmanlike type of "the judicious Hooker," Bilson, Falkland, Selden, Milton, Cromwell, Owen, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, Baxter, Vane, Du Moulin; William the Silent, William III, the Great Elector; Hotman, Mornay, Amyrault, Claude, Huet, Jacquelot—international Calvinism at its best; "filtered through the minds of men who were engaged in the active business of life." [1]

III

Through Locke there filtered to the American Revolution five points of political Calvinism held by hundreds of Calvinists, but clarified through his *Civil Government:* fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of people, popular sovereignty, resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives.

(1) From the absolute sovereignty of God and the authority of his Word, Calvin's successor Beza deduced the conclusion of "no other will which is perpetual and immutable, the rule of justice." "God only hath this prerogative: whose sovereignty is absolute, and whose will is a perfect Rule and Reason itself," argued Governor John Winthrop. Baxter reasoned that "God as the sovereign ruler of Mankind hath given him the Law of Nature, commonly called the Moral

[1] King, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–278, 295, 347, 358, 301–305; "Toleration," *Works*, V, 13–16, 156; Calvin, *Inst.*, IV, i, 19; iv, 2, 10–11, 15; x, 5, 8, 16, 30, 31; III, xix, 7, 16; II, ii, 12, 14; Rom. i, 28 (cf. Locke, *Paraphrase*, same verse on "reprobate"); Amos, vii, 13. Calamy, *Life of Howe*, pp. 129, 120; Locke, *Education*, sects. 38–40, 45, 110, 123, 208, 210; "Study," King, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–99; *Works*, VIII, 332. Ollion, *Phil. Gén. de Locke*, p. 23; Locke, *Paraphrase*, Rom. i, 28; v, 19, 20; i, 17; ix, 11; xi, 6, 7, 11; Ephesians, i, 5. Cf. Calvin's *Comm.*, same passages. Huet, *Apologie pour Vrais Tolerans*, pp. 30–34; Gardiner, *Hist. Eng. from James I*, II, 122; Foster, *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, XVI, 9–13; Foster, in Munro, *Cyclopædia of Education*, "Calvinists and Education"; *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 502–503.

Law." The Huguenot *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* calls it the "Law of God." Calvin's dictum, "the written law is nothing but the corroboration of the law of nature," represents the general Calvinistic tendency to identify the law of nature with the law of God, though not with the Old Testament. Calvin, Ponet, the Genevan Version of the Bible, Hotman, Pareus, Junius, Buchanan, Lilburne, and Locke taught that the law of nature was "corroborated," "contained," or "summarized" in that part of Moses's law which was fundamental and moral, not ceremonial.

The fundamental law is definitely called "the law of God and nature" by Beza, Bishop Ponet, Hooker, Hotman, Gentillet, Jurieu, Buchanan, Pareus, Francis Junius, Grotius, and Locke.

This fundamental law sometimes appears as simply the "law of nature" in Calvin, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Bishop Bilson, Lilburne and the Levellers, John Goodwin, Owen, Vane, John Cotton, Claude, Gentilis (Grotius's predecessor), and Locke. It is also the "law of reason" in Calvin, the Genevan Version, Gentilis, the Huguenots Claude and Francis Junius (of Leyden), Hooker, Sir Edwin Sandys of the Virginia Company (quoted by Sam Adams), the Presbyterian Hunton, and Locke. It is the "law eternal and natural" of Lilburne; the "somewhat fundamental" of Cromwell; "paramount law" of Buchanan; "the great Fundamental Law" of Owen; "the Supreme Law of the Supreme Law-Giver" of Sir Harry Vane, or sometimes his "Fundamental Constitution," a term used also by Hunton, and by the fifty-seven dissenting ministers, 1649; the "Loy fondamentale" of Claude and Jurieu, who wrote a pamphlet to show that William III went to England to establish this. It is the "rule of equity," or "rectitude," in Calvin, Beza, Hotman, the Genevan Version, Gentillet, and Locke. Universally binding, it is sometimes practically identified with the "Law of Nations" by Beza, Hotman, Gentilis, Grotius, Jurieu, Sandys, John Goodwin.

This teaching was effectively utilized to check any arbitrary power that violated the fundamental law of God, nature, reason, equity, law of nations, or fundamental constitution of the land, to which all men even kings were subject. "For the sovereign is not above the laws of God, nature, and nations," based upon "perpetual custom, good sense and right reason." Thus the teaching of scores of Calvinists before Locke was summed up in a pamphlet defending the English Revolution, in French, Dutch, and English, written in 1689 by the Huguenot Jurieu, some of whose books Locke owned.[1]

Calvinists made no pretense of originating the idea of a law of nature, but constantly cited in its support not only Scripture but also Roman law and classical writers. To discover, as Troeltsch has done, medieval and classical elements is to reveal a Calvinistic, not an uncalvinistic trait. The Calvinistic contribution is to systematize and apply the combination of medieval, humanistic, and Scriptural knowledge and to "take the next step," when that is made plain by "nature, natural clarity of thought and God himself through the words of St. Paul," as Beza put it. Both Beza and Hotman refuse to be bound literally by the Roman law, but make distinctions enabling them to teach that kings are bound by *public* law. The "Word of God" they not only accepted as fundamental law but utilized it as "a rule of righteousness to influence our lives" (in Locke's phrase), and as a concrete means of checking tyranny. "Enterprising further," they applied this idea of a "written law" to written constitutions for both church and state. Scores of such fundamental written laws—the "Lawes and Statutes of Geneva," Dutch

[1] Jurieu, *Lettres Pastorales*, Lett. XVIII, III, 399, 426; *Apologie* (Eng. trans.), p. 23; *State Tracts*, I, 188. Rare Huguenot pamphlets are in Soc. Hist. Prot. Franç., and Bib. Nat., Paris; British Museum; Harvard; Prince Library, Congregational (Boston); McAlpine Coll., Union Theol. Sem. Gentilis, *De Jure Belli*, III, xvi, 363 (ed. 1877); cf. Grotius, *Proleg.*, sects. 8–17; Locke, *Government*, sects. 5, 6, 87, 135, 142; *Paraphrase*, Rom. v, 14. References for fundamental law, contract, popular sovereignty, resistance, Foster, "Political Theories of Calvinists," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 481–503.

Declaration of Independence and Union of Utrecht, Edict of Nantes, Puritan constitutional documents in Scotland, Old and New England (of nation, colony, town, and church), and the Bill of Rights of 1689—illustrate the Calvinistic habit of embodying convictions in written form and working institutions. Locke himself not only believed in a fundamental "law of nature," "contained in the book of the law of Moses," but also drew up a written constitution for a church of the Independent, Huguenot type, and for the colony of Carolina, with its remarkable provisions for tolerance. The idea of fundamental law was put into successful practice in the Revolution of 1688, and was combined by Locke and other Calvinists with the other points in political Calvinism into a working system.

(2) Rights, bestowed by God and based upon his fundamental law of nature, were a part of both divine and human nature and therefore natural and inalienable. Calvin in his Commentary on Romans (iii, 29) dropped fertile seeds. "God made the whole human race equal and placed them under one condition." "It is a law of nature that all men are formed in the image of God and are to be brought up in the hope of blessed eternity." Calvin's *Institutes* held "reason a natural talent," and on the basis of "the divine word and the experience of common sense" discovered God-given "principles of equity," "seeds of justice and also some seeds of political order sown in the minds of all," "some desire of investigating truth," and "making new discoveries," especially in "civil polity, domestic economy, all the mechanical arts and liberal sciences" (II, ii, 12–14; III, xix, 7). Such inspiring conceptions of human possibilities, sown by Calvin and ripened among Huguenots, Independents, Dutch, and Scots, came to fruition in Locke and America.

Beza and Hotman taught *le droit naturel* of "equity and justice"; Hotman, the "natural right of liberty," "not only of body but of spirit which yields not to fire or sword but to persuasion," a principle of toleration oft repeated by Hugue-

not, Dutch, and Puritan down to Locke.[1] The Genevan-bred Pareus of Heidelberg, in his widely read and quoted *Commentaries on Romans* (ix, p. 717; xiii, p. 1057), reasoned that such essential rights coming from God were inalienable. Grotius taught cautiously, and the orthodox Calvinist Gronovius more vigorously (in notes authorized by the Dutch government) the doctrine of resistance based upon a natural right to violate "commands against natural or divine law." "Relying upon the Bible we maintain liberty" was the significant motto of the Dutch florin of 1681 commemorating the centennial of their Declaration of Independence.

That all men were created equal by natural law or law of God was taught by Calvin; Amyrault, Saumaise, and Jurieu; Hooker, Lilburne (brought up on Calvin and Calvinists), and the Levellers; Roger Williams and Sidney. That they were born free was maintained by Hotman and Saumaise; the Scottish Presbyterian Rutherford; Roger Williams, Milton, Vane, Sidney, Lewis du Moulin. That all men were born free and equal was held by Saumaise, and two of Locke's fellow-exiles in Holland, Jurieu and Sidney, by Roger Williams (a good Calvinist), who stood "for liberty and equality," and by Locke. Locke's natural right of property had been taught by Beza, Pareus, the Levellers, and the First Agreement of the People. Liberty of conscience as a natural right was taught by Hotman and the famous Huguenot pastor Claude, whose book Locke owned and whose position he supported against Louis XIV; in England by Owen, Vane, and the First Agreement of the People; and as an inviolable right by a list, too long to catalogue here, of some sixty Calvinists in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Hungary, England, and America. Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia* so closely resembled the teaching of Huguenots that it was attributed to one of them by a contemporary Huguenot, an error curiously repeated by recent Huguenot scholars, Haag and Puaux.

[1] Hotman, *Politique*, in *Mém. Chas. IX*, III, 89–90; Locke, *Government*, sects. 4–6, 61, 87, 95, 112; *Letters on Toleration*.

Reason as a natural right had been taught before Locke by Calvin, Beza, Baxter, Du Moulin. Gentilis, Grotius's forerunner, had drawn the logical conclusion: "man is a rational creature, therefore the Prince must be subject to reason." [1] Many other Puritans, Huguenots, and international Calvinists had made the appeal to reason. Before Locke, practically all his natural rights of equality, liberty, life, property, conscience, and reason had been taught by Calvinists as corollaries of the fundamental law of God and nature which created man free, equal, and rational. Locke was familiar with a dozen of these writers, and also with the revolutions on Calvinistic principles in Scotland, France, Holland, and England, which had fought for these rights, culminating in the Revolution of 1688.

(3) The idea of a "mutual relation" between God and man was implied in the Calvinists' thought of the "Word of God." They taught a like mutual relation between ruler and people. "Every commonwealth," said Calvin, "rests upon laws and agreements," and "the mutual obligations of head and members." "Regal power was nothing but a mutual covenant between king and people," said the Scottish commissioners, justifying to Elizabeth their "demission" of Mary, and quoting Calvin's teaching. This contract idea, embodied by one of the commissioners, Buchanan, in his much-quoted book, passed on through his pupil James I, who was quoted by Locke. Buchanan, Milton, Vane, Prynne, Baxter, Du Moulin, and John Cotton draw the logical conclusion that "the rights of him who dissolves the contract are forfeited." [2]

This doctrine of a mutual contract, for violation of which the people or their representatives should resist the ruler, had been taught by over sixty Calvinists, and successfully practised by Calvinists in six countries before Locke popu-

[1] *De Jure Belli*, III, xvi, 363.

[2] Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, p. 37; Buchanan, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, p. 196; Locke, *Government*, sects. 15, 97, 102, 138, 140–142 (cf. Sam Adams, I, 55, and Stamp Act Congress, sect. 2), 200 (James I).

larized it in his *Government*. Calvin's teachings and the Genevan example, reasserted explicitly by Knox and Buchanan, voted by the Scottish General Assembly and in identical words by Parliament, 1567, had been successfully reasserted in the Scottish National Covenant of 1638 against the attempt of Charles I and Laud to violate church government and worship; and in 1643 was again incorporated in the Solemn League and Covenant which united Scottish Covenanters and English Puritans against the arbitrary government of Charles.

In England, the contract theory was taught by Calvinists of all sorts: Bishop Bilson in his *True Difference*, justifying the successful Scottish, Dutch, and Huguenot resistance, cited in Locke's *Government;* Hooker, Locke's chief reference after Scripture; three Presbyterians, Walter Travers and Cartwright (both Genevan-bred disciples of Beza) and Hunton, cited by Locke; the Italians Peter Martyr and Gentilis; Pym, Sir John Eliot, Prynne, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I, John Goodwin in its defense, Sidney, Baxter, Lewis du Moulin, and Locke's friend Tyrrell. Locke himself regarded his Constitutions of Carolina as a compact, speaking of it thus in article 97 and providing for its signature as a "sacred and unalterable form." Finally, the Convention Parliament of 1689 justified the Revolution on the Calvinistic grounds: "that King James having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people . . . having violated the Fundamental law and having withdrawn himself hath abdicated, and that the throne is vacant."

In France, the "mutual, reciprocal obligation between people and ruler," taught in Beza's *De Jure Magistratuum*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, and by Mornay (as author or editor) in the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, was exemplified in the Edict of Nantes, wrested from their ex-Calvinist king by the Huguenot's persistent "Political General Assembly." It was reasserted (after the Revocation) on the ground that this

edict was a contract, by Mornay's grandson De Vrigny and six other Huguenot fellow-exiles, three at least familiar to Locke through books owned by him—Claude, Ancillon, and Jurieu.

Finally the contract theory and resistance based upon it, urged by Mornay and the Huguenots upon the Dutch, proclaimed by William the Silent and incorporated into the Declaration of Independence, reasserted by Grotius, Gronovius, and the exiles in Holland, was again, through William the Silent's great grandson, William III, assisted by another convinced Calvinist, the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Cleves, and by international Calvinists, authors, diplomats, soldiers, from six lands, translated into fact in the Revolution and the Bill of Rights.

Closely allied with the contract was the consent of the people, a theory sometimes passing imperceptibly into the sovereignty of the people. The consent of the people is of extraordinary significance among Calvinists because it also passed from the church to the state. The Huguenots "wish," said their leader, D'Huisseau, "to extend to the state the liberty they permit themselves in the affairs of religion. They believe that if they may control the views of officials in church in the service of God they ought to be also free to judge the conduct of those who are established over them in civil government." [1] It is not surprising that this step was actually taken by Calvin in Geneva, and his followers in Scotland, France, and England. Locke had observed the principle of consent in the Huguenot church government at Nîmes, 1676, contrasted it favorably with the overweening powers of "episcopacies" in his *Defence of Non-conformity*, 1682, incorporated it into his plan for *Civil Government*, 1690. In thus "taking the next step," carrying over from the church to the state the principle of consent of the people, Locke followed the footsteps of a dozen Calvinists: Calvin, Beza, Ponet, the widely read Genevan Ver-

[1] *Réunion du Christianisme* (Saumur, 1679), pp. 197–198.

sion of the Bible, Cartwright, Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Roger Williams, Huguenot national synods and "Political General Assemblies," Scottish Assembly and Parliament, Baynes, the Levellers, Du Moulin, and Jurieu. This tendency of Calvinists to extend from church to state the consent of people and ideas of republican government is corroborated by a score of critics: conservative Calvinists like Archbishop Whitgift, kings like James I and Henry IV who had suffered at the hands of men they recognized as logically opposed to their kind of monarchy, Cardinal Richelieu, the ex-Calvinist Grotius, the part-time Calvinist Bayle, and Voltaire.

This habit of transferring ecclesiastical principles to the state was exhibited regarding other Calvinistic teachings. Locke's *Government* reproached the supporters of political absolutism, "who, relying on him [Hooker] for their ecclesiastical polity," refuse to apply his teachings to civil government, and so "deny those principles on which he builds." Hooker's principles which Locke in Calvinistic fashion carried over from church to state were the Calvinistic teachings of fundamental law, natural rights, contract and consent of the people.

(4) Believing that rulers received their power by consent of the people, and could govern only when they observed their contract, the logically minded Calvinist was bound in time to "take the next step" and recognize the sovereignty of the people. Calvin foresaw that this question would arise, "when rulers break faith with the people," but he felt it to be untimely, with the danger of civil war and commotions toward the close of his life especially in France, to discuss the question. "Calvin looks asquint that way," as Filmer justly remarked, and went so far as to teach that magistrates were "responsible to God and the people."

Before Calvin's death, Bishop Ponet, Knox, and Goodman published at Geneva books teaching that kings are "but a portion and member of the people"; "people are

not ordained for kings, but kings ordained for the people," "the whole Congregation or Commonwealth" in Ponet's significant phrase. "The common people," said Goodman, "must see that their Princes be subject to God's Lawes." A year later, Goodman, Knox, and the "Congregation" in Scotland were putting their principles into practice and asserting Calvin's approval, as Goodman had already done in his *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed.* That "People were not made for kings but kings for the people," was a favorite Calvinist teaching, proclaimed by these "ancient Puritans at Geneva"; by four Huguenot famous publications after St. Bartholomew (Hotman's *Politique*, *Réveille-Matin*, and *Franco-Gallia*, and Beza's *De Jure Magistratuum*); by the Dutch Declaration of Independence; by Goodwin's "Defence of the Sentence against the King"; by Jurieu, on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; on the eve of the English Revolution by Tronchin, and after it, by the *Sept Sages de France à leur Roi Louis XIV.*

"Souveraineté" Hotman applied to the people; but he identified them with the "estates composed of the body of all the people." The *Vindiciae* taught that "the sovereign is the whole people or those who represent the people, like the estates," adding the homely touch, "kings are of the same dough as others . . . raised by the people." This same alternative of people or their representatives made by Hotman, Beza, and the *Vindiciae* was repeated in Locke's *Government:* "there remains still in the people a supreme power," but "the legislative is the supreme power while government subsists" (sects. 134–138, 149, 150). What Figgis says of the *Vindiciae* is also true of Hotman, Beza, and Jurieu: "It is hard to overestimate the resemblance between the ideas of Locke and the author of the *Vindiciae.*"

A year before Locke's *Government*, Jurieu reproduced the arguments of Beza and the *Vindiciae*, and lifted (errors and all) nineteen passages from Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* to prove that "the Sovereign power is in the hands of the people and

of assemblies composed of its deputies." This *Soupirs de France Esclave* was immediately translated into Dutch, English, and Spanish; and on the eve of the French Revolution reprinted anonymously (*Les Vœux d'un Patriote*) as a plea for a meeting of the States-General. It was in Mirabeau's library with Calvin's *Institutes*, Beza's *De Jure*, Hotman's *Franco-Gallia*, the *Vindiciae*, Milton, Locke, and John Adams—a chain from Reformation through the three revolutions of 1688, 1776, 1789. Jurieu's *Apologie pour leurs Majestés Britanniques*, 1689, justifying the Revolution on grounds of sovereignty of people and violation of compact, was immediately translated into Dutch, "Englished," and published in *State Tracts*. "This pretended sovereignty of the people you have resurrected from the tomb of Buchanan, Junius Brutus (author of *Vindiciae*) and Milton," complained Bayle who found this in Jurieu and Locke, and as "the gospel of the day among Protestants." The striking similarity between Jurieu and Locke, in basing resistance upon contract, natural rights, and popular sovereignty, pointed out by Lureau and Van Ordt, has been summed up by Lacour-Gayet. "Jurieu quite as much as Locke deserves to be called the theorist of the Revolution of 1688." Their common residence in Amsterdam, service of William III, and interest in Bayle and the Socinian controversy, and Locke's ownership of Jurieu's books on this subject indicate Locke's knowledge of Jurieu.[1]

Milton, like Jurieu, Baxter, and Pareus (whom he quotes), taught that the people are the "proximate" or direct cause of sovereignty. Popular sovereignty had been also taught by the Dutch Declaration of Independence, Grotius, the Puritan Army, and Cromwell ("the supremacy is in the

[1] Cf. *Franco-Gallia* (*Mém. Chas. IX*), II, 406–411; *Soupirs de France*, VI, 84–92. The Catholic Monarchomachist Boucher also lifted from *Franco-Gallia* in *De Justa Henrici III Abdicatione*, cap. XVII. Locke (sovereignty and resistance), *Government*, sects. 149–151, 195, 200, 202, 210–217, 220–222. Acknowledgment is made to Earl Lovelace for permission to examine Lord King's half of Locke's library. The other half, probably containing more Huguenot books, has disappeared.

people—radically in them—and to be set down by them in their representation"), by Ireton and the Levellers, Thomas Hooker, John Goodwin, Vane, and Sidney. Locke repeats this teaching of over thirty international Calvinists, with the majority of whom he was familiar.

(5) The doctrine of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives or "Ephors" first taught in Calvin's *Institutes* (IV, xx, 31), was repeated not merely by half a dozen (as Gierke's scholarly work on Althusius indicated) but by some twenty-eight Calvinists before Locke, sometimes with a quotation, but at least using the term "Ephor" and the essential provision. Calvin's passage quoted by the Scottish commissioners to Elizabeth in defense of their "demission" of Mary, was requoted in Camden's *Annals*, Milton, and Grotius, and attacked by Bayle.

To the refutation of the passage Heylin devoted a book, 1657, and to its defense Harrington another, 1659. Calvin's teaching was cited by Prynne, 1643, Rutherford (*Lex Rex*, 1644), and another Scot, John Brown, in his *Apologetical Narrative* justifying Scottish resistance to tyranny. These three writers, with Milton, Buchanan, and twenty other Calvinists, were condemned in the famous Oxford University decree, July 21, 1683, a month before Locke sought safety in Holland. Of the thirty-two authors thus put on the High Church *Index* for their teaching of the doctrines of resistance to tyranny based upon fundamental law, natural rights, contract, and popular sovereignty, all but seven were Calvinists. Calvin's teaching of the "Ephors" was also utilized by William the Silent, by Buchanan, in Germany by Althusius, Alstedius, and Peter Martyr, by Beza, Hotman, Daneau, and the *Vindiciae*, Ponet, Fenner, Knight, Bradshaw in the trial of Charles I, John Goodwin in his *Defence* of that trial, Sidney, and Locke's friends Baxter and Tyrrell. In addition to the twenty-eight using Calvin's teaching and phraseology, twenty more followed Calvin's reasoning as to the duty of active resistance by representa-

tives ordained for the protection of the people. Among these were Jurieu, Hunton, Baxter, Owen, all known to Locke.

As Locke linked the doctrine of resistance through the "legislative" with the idea of contract or consent of the people, so had Calvin, Peter Martyr, Beza, the *Vindiciae*, Bilson, Fenner, Althusius, Milton, Bradshaw, and Vane. Resistance combined with the other Calvinistic political theories taught by Locke, sovereignty of the people, fundamental law and "vocation" (like that of Ephors or Parliament), was also taught by scores of Calvinists. In Hungary, Bocskay and the Calvinists secured their civil and religious liberties through resistance on the part of the representative assembly, and embodied their rights in a written charter, 1606. In 1608 their representative assembly (like the Scots and Huguenots) refused the royal command to adjourn; and on grounds singularly like those of 1688 (violation of the compact, and desertion by the king) deposed Rudolph and elected his successor.[1]

In each Calvinistic revolution there was shrewd linking of theory with practice. Thus the success of the earlier revolutions was cited over ninety times by Calvinists to justify the later: the Scottish example by the Huguenots; both these by William the Silent and the Dutch; all three in Bilson's justification of English aid to Scots, Huguenots, and Dutch; and in many pamphlets urging or defending the Revolution of 1688. A striking example of this continuity of Calvinistic influence was the act of Convocation, 1606, justifying English aid to Dutch and Huguenots on the ground: "when any such new forms of government, begun by Rebellion, are after thoroughly settled, the authority in them is of God." Publication of Overall's *Convocation Book* containing this was suppressed at James's request. In 1689, put into print by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it induced Sherlock, Master of the Temple, to accept William and

[1] *Corpus Juris Hungarici*, I, 643; E. Csuday, *Geschichte der Ungarn*, übersetzt von M. Darvai, II, 67–97.

justify the Revolution in *The Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Powers Stated.*

The Revolution was carried through by a felicitous combination of Anglicans and Dissenters; but they combined by abandoning High-Church Anglican passive obedience, and accepting Calvinistic teachings of resistance to tyranny by a representative body and on the basis of contract, fundamental law, and natural rights. The Revolution is unthinkable without these theories and the Puritan and other successful revolutions based upon them. It was impossible without the support of the Dissenters, like Howe and Bunyan, Baxter and Kiffin, and their congregations. It was, under Anglican auspices, actually carried out largely by an extraordinary combination of Calvinists, English Dissenters, Scottish and Brandenburg Calvinists, William III and the sturdy Dutch, Huguenot diplomats, gold, ships, sailors, and 696 young officers forming the *cadres* of the army so successfully welded and wielded by William's right-hand man, the Huguenot marshal, Schomburg.

The Revolution of 1688 which Locke aided and justified, and his own teaching of resistance to tyranny through responsible representatives, which he based upon fundamental law, contract, natural rights, and sovereignty of the people, were in the main historical outgrowths of international Calvinism. This is not to assert that no other elements entered into Locke or the Revolution. Calvinists did not claim to be original. They built upon the past; but they "took the next step," possibly the most distinguishing contribution of Calvinism. Ancient and medieval writers had taught fundamental law, natural rights, contract, sovereignty of the people, obedience to God rather than man. Each of these teachings Calvinists carried a step further, notably in changing passive refusal to obey into active resistance through lay representatives following a "calling," ordained of God, and responsible, not to "God and the Church," but to "God and the people." With a possible exception on this point,

the contribution of Calvinism was not in originating, but in (1) carrying theories to logical conclusions; (2) tying them all together into a workable system; (3) developing the type of people capable of putting them into practice; (4) demonstrating that their principles worked successfully in practice.

In civil and ecclesiastical government, worship, social and economic implications, and fundamental doctrines Locke, absorbing the international Calvinism of Independent, Anglican, Huguenot, Dutch, and German, remained, until after he had written his *Civil Government*, a moderate Calvinist of the sixteenth-century type, the sort of Englishman described by Thomas Long in his *Calvinus Redivivus* of 1673. "You shall find it all one to be a moderate Calvinist and a sober Conformist." Constantly striving to bring both Anglican and Nonconformist to the earlier "moderate and sober" type, Locke himself typifies the Calvinism productive of civil and religious liberty that filtered from international sources through this calm thinker and man of affairs. The Calvinism assimilated and carried over by Locke possessed the liberal, international character of the Calvinistic commonwealths founded or expanded by thousands of exiles for conscience' sake—shrewd Genevan traders, prosperous Huguenot artisans and bankers, indomitable Dutch merchants, canny Scots, thrifty Scotch-Irish, and resourceful Puritans, and the Calvinists from all these lands who made up the majority of the seventeenth-century colonists in America.

Locke and the men like-minded with him, determined Calvinists, "sober and discreet" (to use his own description) supporters of liberty and law, illustrate the dictum of Locke's admirer Webster concerning the Puritans. "The determined spirit of no compromise with moral evil sharpened the sight for the discovery of political evils." "The enquiry was not whether the thing was bearable but whether it was right." Although Webster, like Locke, disliked elabo-

rate creeds, he concluded, "I verily believe creeds had something to do with the Revolution."

The large and convincing mass of first-hand evidence proves that international Calvinism filtered through Locke and the Revolution of 1688. It also substantiates four sound conclusions as to the joint influence of Locke and other Calvinists: Bayle's statement, 1693, that Locke's teachings in his *Civil Government* were "the gospel of the day among Protestants"; the cartoon of 1769 linking Locke with Calvin and Sidney in colonial resistance to tyranny; Webster's conclusion, "creeds had something to do with the Revolution"; and Dean Tucker's remark, "the Americans have made the maxims of Locke the ground of the present war."

WEBSTER'S SEVENTH OF MARCH SPEECH AND THE SECESSION MOVEMENT, 1850[1]

THE moral earnestness and literary skill of Whittier, Lowell, Garrison, Phillips, and Parker have fixed in many minds the anti-slavery doctrine that Webster's 7th of March speech was "scandalous treachery," and Webster a man of little or no "moral sense," courage, or statesmanship. That bitter atmosphere, reproduced by Parton and Von Holst, was perpetuated a generation later by Lodge.[2]

Since 1900, over fifty publications throwing light on Webster and the Secession movement of 1850 have appeared, nearly a score containing fresh contemporary evidence. These twentieth-century historians—Garrison of Texas, Smith of Williams, Stephenson of Charleston and Yale, Van Tyne, Phillips, Fisher in his *True Daniel Webster*, or Ames, Hearon, and Cole in their monographs on Southern conditions—many of them born in one section and educated in another, brought into broadening relations with Northern and Southern investigators, trained in the modern historical spirit and freed by the mere lapse of time from much of the passion of slavery and civil war, have written with less emotion and more knowledge than the abolitionists, secessionists, or their disciples who preceded Rhodes.

Under the auspices of the American Historical Association have appeared the correspondence of Calhoun, of Chase, of Toombs, Stephens, and Cobb, and of Hunter of Virginia. Van Tyne's *Letters of Webster* (1902), including hundreds hitherto unpublished, was further supplemented in the sixteenth volume of the "National Edition" of Webster's

[1] Reprinted from *American Historical Review*, January, 1922.

[2] Cf. Parton with Lodge on intellect, morals, indolence, drinking, 7th of March speech, Webster's favorite things in England; references, note 1, p. 199, below.

Writings and Speeches (1903). These two editions contain, for 1850 alone, 57 inedited letters.

Manuscript collections and newspapers, comparatively unknown to earlier writers, have been utilized in monographs dealing with the situation in 1850 in South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Tennessee, published by universities or historical societies.

The cooler and matured judgments of men who knew Webster personally—Foote, Stephens, Wilson, Seward, and Whittier, in the last century; Hoar, Hale, Fisher, Hosmer, and Wheeler in recent years—modify their partizan political judgments of 1850. The new printed evidence is confirmed by manuscript material: 2,500 letters of the Greenough Collection available since the publication of the recent editions of Webster's letters and apparently unused by Webster's biographers; and hundreds of still inedited Webster Papers in the New Hampshire Historical Society, and scattered in minor collections.[1] This mass of new material makes possible and desirable a re-examination of the evidence as to (1) the danger from the secession movement in 1850; (2) the grounds for Webster's change in attitude toward the disunion danger in February, 1850; (3) the reason for his 7th of March speech; (4) the effects of his speech and attitude upon the secession movement.

I

During the session of Congress of 1849–1850, the peace of the Union was threatened by problems centring around slavery and the territory acquired as a result of the Mexican War: California's demand for admission with a constitution prohibiting slavery; the Wilmot Proviso excluding slavery from the rest of the Mexican acquisitions (Utah and New

[1] Manuscripts in the Greenough, Hammond, and Clayton Collections (Library of Congress); Winthrop and Appleton Collections (Mass. Hist. Soc.); Garrison (Boston Public Library); N. H. Hist. Soc.; Dartmouth College; Middletown (Conn.) Hist. Soc.; and in the possession of Mrs. Alfred E. Wyman.

Mexico); the boundary dispute between Texas and New Mexico; the abolition of slave trade in the District of Columbia; and an effective fugitive slave law to replace that of 1793.

The evidence for the steadily growing danger of secession until March, 1850, is no longer to be sought in Congressional speeches, but rather in the private letters of those men, Northern and Southern, who were the shrewdest political advisers of the South, and in the official acts of representative bodies of Southerners in local or state meetings, state legislatures, and the Nashville Convention. Even after the compromise was accepted in the South and the secessionists defeated in 1850–1851, the Southern states generally adopted the Georgia platform or its equivalent declaring that the Wilmot Proviso or the repeal of the fugitive slave law would lead the South to "resist even (as a last resort) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union." Southern disunion sentiment was not sporadic or a party matter; it was endemic.

The disunion sentiment in the North was not general; but Garrison, publicly proclaiming "I am an abolitionist and therefore for the dissolution of the Union," and his followers who pronounced "the Constitution a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," exercised a twofold effect far in excess of their numbers. In the North, abolitionists aroused bitter antagonism to slavery; in the South they strengthened the conviction of the lawfulness of slavery and the desirability of secession in preference to abolition. "The abolition question must soon divide us," a South Carolinian wrote his former principal in Vermont. "We are beginning to look upon it [disunion] as a relief from incessant insult. I have been myself surprised at the unusual prevalence and depth of this feeling." [1] "The abolition movement," as Houston has pointed out, "prevented any considerable abatement of feeling, and added volume to the current which was

[1] Bennett, Dec. 1, 1848, to Partridge, Norwich University. MS. Dartmouth.

to sweep the State out of the Union in 1860." [1] South Carolina's ex-governor, Hammond, wrote Calhoun in December, 1849, "the conduct of the abolitionists in congress is daily giving it [disunion] powerful aid." "The sooner we can get rid of it [the union] the better." [2] The conclusion of both Blair of Kentucky and Winthrop [3] of Massachusetts, that "Calhoun and his instruments are really solicitous to break up the Union," was warranted by Calhoun's own statement.

Calhoun, desiring to save the Union if he could, but at all events to save the South, and convinced that there was "no time to lose," hoped "a decisive issue will be made with the North." In February, 1850, he wrote, "Disunion is the only alternative that is left us." [4] At last supported by some sort of action in thirteen Southern states, and in nine states by appointment of delegates to his Southern Convention, he declared in the Senate, March 4, "the South is united against the Wilmot proviso, and has committed itself, by solemn resolutions, to resist, should it be adopted." "The South will be forced to choose between abolition and secession." "The Southern States . . . cannot remain, as things now are, consistently with honor and safety, in the Union." [5]

That Beverley Tucker rightly judged that this speech of Calhoun expressed what was "in the mind of every man in the State" is confirmed by the approval of Hammond and other observers; their judgment that "everyone was ripe for disunion and no one ready to make a speech in favor of the union"; the testimony of the governor, that South

[1] Houston, *Nullification in South Carolina*, p. 141. Further evidence of Webster's thesis that abolitionists had developed Southern reaction in Phillips, *South in the Building of the Nation*, IV, 401–403; and unpublished letters approving Webster's speech.

[2] Calhoun, *Corr.*, Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1899, vol. II), pp. 1193–1194.

[3] To Crittenden, Dec. 20, 1849, Smith, *Polit. Hist. Slavery*, I, 122; Winthrop MSS., Jan. 6, 1850.

[4] Calhoun, *Corr.*, p. 781; cf. 764–766, 778, 780, 783–784.

[5] *Cong. Globe*, XXI, 451–455, 463; *Corr.*, p. 784. On Calhoun's attitude, Ames, *Calhoun*, pp. 6–7; Stephenson, in *Yale Review*, 1919, p. 216; Newbury, in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XI, 259; Hamer, *Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1847–1852*, pp. 49–54.

Carolina "is ready and anxious for an immediate separation"; and the concurrent testimony of even the few "Unionists" like Petigru and Lieber, who wrote Webster, "almost everyone is for southern separation," "disunion is the . . . predominant sentiment." "For arming the state, $350,000 has been put at the disposal of the governor." "Had I convened the legislature two or three weeks before the regular meeting," adds the governor, "such was the excited state of the public mind at that time, I am convinced South Carolina would not now have been a member of the Union. The people are very far ahead of their leaders." Ample first-hand evidence of South Carolina's determination to secede in 1850 may be found in the *Correspondence of Calhoun*, in Claiborne's *Quitman*, in the acts of the assembly, in the newspapers, in the legislature's vote "to resist at any and all hazards," and in the choice of resistance-men to the Nashville Convention and the state convention. This has been so convincingly set forth in Ames's *Calhoun and the Secession Movement of 1850*, and in Hamer's *Secession Movement in South Carolina, 1847–1852*, that there is need of very few further illustrations.[1]

That South Carolina postponed secession for ten years was due to the Compromise. Alabama and Virginia adopted resolutions accepting the Compromise in 1850–1851; and the Virginia legislature tactfully urged South Carolina to abandon secession. The 1851 elections in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi showed the South ready to accept the Compromise, the crucial test being in Mississippi, where the voters followed Webster's supporter, Foote.[2] That Petigru was right in maintaining that South Carolina merely abandoned immediate and separate secession is shown by the almost unanimous vote of the South Carolina State Convention of

[1] Calhoun, *Corr.*, Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1899, vol. II), pp. 1210–1212; Toombs, *Corr.* (*id.*, 1911, vol. II), pp. 188, 217; Coleman, *Crittenden*, I, 363; Hamer, pp. 55–56, 46–48, 54, 82–83; Ames, *Calhoun*, pp. 21–22, 29; Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 36–39.

[2] Hearon, *Miss. and the Compromise of 1850*, p. 209.

1852,[1] that the state was amply justified "in dissolving at once all political connection with her co-States," but refrained from this "manifest right of self-government from considerations of expediency only." [2]

In Mississippi, a preliminary convention, instigated by Calhoun, recommended the holding of a Southern convention at Nashville in June, 1850, to "adopt some mode of resistance." The "Resolutions" declared the Wilmot Proviso "such a breach of the federal compact as . . . will make it the duty . . . of the slave-holding states to treat the non-slave-holding states as enemies." The "Address" recommended "all the assailed states to provide in the last resort for their separate welfare by the formation of a compact and a Union." "The object of this [Nashville Convention] is to familiarize the public mind with the idea of dissolution," rightly judged the Richmond *Whig* and the Lynchburg *Virginian*.

Radical resistance men controlled the legislature and "cordially approved" the disunion resolution and address, chose delegates to the Nashville Convention, appropriated $20,000 for their expenses and $200,000 for "necessary measures for protecting the state . . . in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso," etc.[3] These actions of Mississippi's legislature one day before Webster's 7th of March speech mark approximately the peak of the secession movement.

Governor Quitman, in response to public demand, called the legislature and proposed "to recommend the calling of a regular convention . . . with full power to annul the federal compact." "Having no hope of an effectual remedy . . . but in separation from the Northern States, my views of state action will look to secession." [4] The legislature sup-

[1] A letter to Webster, Oct. 22, 1851, Greenough MSS., shows the strength of Calhoun's secession ideas. Hamer, p. 125, quotes part.
[2] Hamer, p. 142; Hearon, p. 220.
[3] Mar. 6, 1850. *Laws* (Miss.), pp. 521–526.
[4] Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 37; Hearon, p. 161 n.

ported Quitman's and Jefferson Davis's plans for resistance, censured Foote's support of the Compromise, and provided for a state convention of delegates.[1]

Even the Mississippi "Unionists" adopted the six standard points generally accepted in the South which would justify resistance. "And this is the Union party," was the significant comment of the New York *Tribune*. This Union Convention, however, believed that Quitman's message was treasonable and that there was ample evidence of a plot to dissolve the Union and form a Southern confederacy. Their programme was adopted by the State Convention the following year.[2] The radical Mississippians reiterated Calhoun's constitutional guarantees of sectional equality and non-interference with slavery, and declared for a Southern convention with power to recommend "secession from the Union and the formation of a Southern confederacy." [3]

"The people of Mississippi seemed . . . determined to defend their equality in the Union, or to retire from it by peaceable secession. Had the issue been pressed at the moment when the excitement was at its highest point, an isolated and very serious movement might have occurred, which South Carolina, without doubt, would have promptly responded to." [4]

In Georgia, evidence as to "which way the wind blows" was received by the Congressional trio, Alexander Stephens, Toombs, and Cobb, from trusted observers at home. "The only safety of the South from abolition universal is to be found in an early dissolution of the Union." Only one democrat was found justifying Cobb's opposition to Calhoun and the Southern Convention.[5]

Stephens himself, anxious to "stick to the Constitutional Union," reveals in confidential letters to Southern Union-

[1] Hearon, pp. 180–181; Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 51–52.
[2] Nov. 10, 1850, Hearon, pp. 178–180; 1851, pp. 209–212.
[3] Dec. 10, Southern Rights Assoc. Hearon, pp. 183–187.
[4] Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 52.
[5] July 1, 1849. *Corr.*, p. 170 (Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1911, vol. II).

ists the rapidly growing danger of disunion. "The feeling among the Southern members for a dissolution of the Union . . . is becoming much more general." "Men are now [December, 1849] beginning to talk of it seriously who twelve months ago hardly permitted themselves to think of it." "Civil war in this country better be prevented if it can be." After a month's "farther and broader view," he concluded, "the crisis is not far ahead . . . a dismemberment of this Republic I now consider inevitable." [1]

On February 8, 1850, the Georgia legislature appropriated $30,000 for a state convention to consider measures of redress, and gave warning that anti-slavery aggressions would "induce us to contemplate the possibility of a dissolution." [2] "I see no prospect of a continuance of this Union long," wrote Stephens two days later. [3]

Speaker Cobb's advisers warned him that "the predominant feeling of Georgia" was "equality or disunion," and that "the destructives" were trying to drive the South into disunion. "But for your influence, Georgia would have been more rampant for dissolution than South Carolina ever was." "S. Carolina will secede, but we can and must put a stop to it in Georgia." [4]

Public opinion in Georgia, which had been "almost ready for immediate secession," was reversed only after the passage of the Compromise and by means of a strenuous campaign against the Secessionists which Stephens, Toombs, and Cobb were obliged to return to Georgia to conduct to a successful issue. [5] Yet even the Unionist Convention of Georgia, elected by this campaign, voted almost unanimously "the Georgia platform" already described, of resistance, even to disruption, against the Wilmot Proviso, the repeal of the fugitive slave law, and the other measures generally selected

[1] Johnston, *Stephens*, pp. 238–239, 244; Smith, *Political History of Slavery*, I, 121.
[2] *Laws* (Ga.), 1850, pp. 122, 405–410. [3] Johnston, *Stephens*, p. 247.
[4] *Corr.*, pp. 184, 193–195, 206–208, July 21. Newspapers, see Brooks, in *Miss. Valley Hist. Review*, IX, 289.
[5] Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, pp. 163–166.

for reprobation in the South.[1] "Even the existence of the Union depended upon the settlement"; "we would have resisted by our arms if the wrong [Wilmot Proviso] had been perpetuated," were Stephens's later judgments.[2] It is to be remembered that the Union victory in Georgia was based upon the Compromise and that Webster's share in "strengthening the friends of the Union" was recognized by Stephens.

The disunion movement manifested also dangerous strength in Virginia and Alabama, and showed possibilities of great danger in Tennessee, North Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Arkansas. The majority of the people may not have favored secession in 1850 any more than in 1860; but the leaders could and did carry most of the Southern legislatures in favor of uniting for resistance.

The "ultras" in Virginia, under the lead of Tucker, and in Alabama under Yancey, frankly avowed their desire to stimulate impossible demands so that disunion would be inevitable. Tucker at Nashville "ridiculed Webster's assertion that the Union could not be dissolved without bloodshed." On the eve of Webster's speech, Garnett of Virginia published a frank advocacy of a Southern Confederacy, repeatedly reprinted, which Clay declared "the most dangerous pamphlet he had ever read."[3] Virginia, in providing for delegates to the Nashville Convention, announced her readiness to join her "sister slave states" for "mutual defence." She later acquiesced in the Compromise, but reasserted that anti-slavery aggressions would "defeat restoration of peaceful sentiments."[4]

[1] Ames, *Documents*, pp. 271–272; Hearon, p. 190.

[2] 1854, *Amer. Hist. Review*, VIII, 92–97; 1857, Johnston, *Stephens*, pp. 321–322; *infra*, pp. 207–209.

[3] Hammond MSS., Jan. 27, Feb. 8; Virginia Resolves, Feb. 12; Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*, p. 246; N. Y. *Tribune*, June 14; M. R. H. Garnett, *Union Past and Future*, published between Jan. 24 and Mar. 7. Alabama: Hodgson, *Cradle of the Confederacy*, p. 281; Dubose, *Yancey*, pp. 247–249, 481; Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, p. 13; Cobb, *Corr.*, pp. 193–195, 207. President Tyler of the College of William and Mary kindly furnished evidence of Garnett's authorship; see J. M. Garnett, in *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 255.

[4] Resolutions, Feb. 12, 1850; *Acts*, 1850, pp. 223–224; 1851, p. 201.

In Texas there was acute danger of collision over the New Mexico boundary with Federal troops which President Taylor was preparing to send. Stephens frankly repeated Quitman's threats of Southern armed support of Texas.[1] Cobb, Henderson of Texas, Duval of Kentucky, Anderson of Tennessee, and Goode of Virginia expressed similar views as to the "imminent cause of danger to the Union from Texas." The collision was avoided because the more statesmanlike attitude of Webster prevailed rather than the "soldier's" policy of Taylor.

The border states held a critical position in 1850, as they did in 1860. "If they go for the Southern movement we shall have disunion." "Everything is to depend from this day on the course of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri." [2] Webster's conciliatory Union policy, in harmony with that of border state leaders, like Bell of Tennessee, Benton of Missouri, Clay and Crittenden of Kentucky, enabled Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri to stand by the Union and refuse to send delegates to the Nashville Convention.

The attitude of the Southern states toward disunion may be followed closely in their action as to the Nashville Convention. Nine Southern states approved the Convention and appointed delegates before June, 1850, six during the critical month preceding Webster's speech: Georgia, February 6, 8; Texas and Tennessee, February 11; Virginia, February 12; Alabama, just before the adjournment of the legislature, February 13; Mississippi, March 5, 6.[3] Every one of the nine seceded in 1860–1861; the border states (Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri) which kept out of the Convention in 1850 likewise kept out of secession in 1861; and only two states which seceded in 1861 failed to join the Southern movement in 1850 (North Carolina and Louisiana). This

[1] Stephens, *Corr.*, p. 192; *Globe*, XXII, II, 1208.

[2] Boston *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 23.

[3] South Carolina, *Acts*, 1849, p. 240, and the following *Laws* or *Acts*, all 1850: Georgia, pp. 418, 405–410, 122; Texas, pp. 93–94, 171; Tennessee, p. 572 (*Globe*, XXI, I, 417, Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 161); Mississippi, pp. 526–528; Virginia, p. 233; Alabama, *Weekly Tribune*, Feb. 23, *Daily*, Feb. 25.

significant parallel between the action of the Southern states in 1850 and in 1860 suggests the permanent strength of the secession movement of 1850. Moreover, the alignment of leaders was strikingly the same in 1850 and 1860. Those who headed the secession movement in 1850 in their respective states were among the leaders of secession in 1860 and 1861: Barnwell and Rhett in South Carolina; Yancey in Alabama; Jefferson Davis and Brown in Mississippi; Garnett, Goode, and Hunter in Virginia; Johnston in Arkansas; Clingman in North Carolina. On the other hand, nearly all the men who in 1850 favored the Compromise, in 1860 either remained Union men, like Crittenden, Houston of Texas, Sharkey, Lieber, Petigru, and Provost Kennedy of Baltimore, or, like Stephens, Morehead, and Foote, vainly tried to restrain secession.

In the states unrepresented at the Nashville Convention —Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, and Louisiana—there was much sympathy with the Southern movement. In Louisiana, the governor's proposal to send delegates was blocked by the Whigs.[1] "Missouri," in case of the Wilmot Proviso, "will be found in hearty co-operation with the slave-holding states for mutual protection against . . . Northern fanaticism," her legislature resolved.[2] Missouri's instructions to her senators were denounced as "disunion in their object" by her own Senator Benton. The Maryland legislature resolved, February 26: "Maryland will take her position with her Southern sister states in the maintenance of the constitution with all its compromises." The Whig senate, however, prevented sanctioning of the convention and sending of delegates. Florida's governor wrote the governor of South Carolina that Florida would co-operate with Virginia and South Carolina "in any measures in defense of our common Constitution and sovereign dignity." "Florida has resolved to resist to the extent of revolution,"

[1] White, *Miss. Valley Hist. Assoc.*, III, 283.
[2] *Senate Miscellaneous*, 1849–1850, no. 24.

declared her representative in Congress, March 5. Though the Whigs did not support the movement, five delegates came from Florida to the Nashville Convention. [1]

In Kentucky, Crittenden's repeated messages against "disunion" and "entangling engagements" reveal the danger seen by a Southern Union governor. [2] Crittenden's changing attitude reveals the growing peril, and the growing reliance on Webster's and Clay's plans. By April, Crittenden recognized that "the Union is endangered," "the case . . . rises above ordinary rules," "circumstances have rather changed." He reluctantly swung from Taylor's plan of dealing with California alone, to the Clay and Webster idea of settling the "whole controversy." [3] Representative Morehead wrote Crittenden, "The extreme Southern gentlemen would secretly deplore the settlement of this question. The magnificence of a Southern Confederacy . . . is a dazzling allurement." Clay, like Webster, saw "the alternative, civil war." [4]

In North Carolina, the majority appear to have been loyal to the Union; but the extremists—typified by Clingman, the public meeting at Wilmington, and the newspapers like the Wilmington *Courier*—reveal the presence of a dangerously aggressive body "with a settled determination to dissolve the Union" and frankly "calculating the advantages of a Southern Confederacy." Southern observers in this state reported that "the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law or the abolition of slavery in the District will dissolve the Union." The North Carolina legislature acquiesced in the Compromise but counselled retaliation in case of anti-slavery aggressions. [5] Before the assembling of the Southern convention in

[1] Hamer, p. 40; cf. Cole, *Whig Party in the South*, p. 162; *Cong. Globe*, Mar. 5.
[2] Coleman, *Crittenden*, I, 333, 350.
[3] Clayton MSS., Apr. 6; cf. Coleman, *Crittenden*, I, 369.
[4] Smith, *History of Slavery*, I, 121; Clay, Oct., 1851, letter, Curtis, *Webster*, II, 584–585.
[5] Clingman, and Wilmington Resolutions, *Globe*, XXI, I, 200–205, 311; *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 25; Cobb, *Corr.*, pp. 217–218; Boyd, "North Carolina on the Eve of Secession," in Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1910), pp. 167–177.

June, every one of the Southern states, save Kentucky, had given some encouragement to the Southern movement, and Kentucky had given warning and proposed a compromise through Clay.[1]

Nine Southern states—Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, and Tennessee—sent about 176 delegates to the Nashville Convention. The comparatively harmless outcome of this convention, in June, led earlier historians to underestimate the danger of the resistance movement in February and March when backed by legislatures, newspapers, and public opinion, before the effect was felt of the death of Calhoun and Taylor, and of Webster's support of conciliation. Stephens and the Southern Unionists rightly recognized that the Nashville Convention "will be the nucleus of another sectional assembly." "A fixed alienation of feeling will be the result." "The game of the destructives is to use the Missouri Compromise principle [as demanded by the Nashville Convention] as a medium of defeating all adjustments and then to . . . infuriate the South and drive her into measures that must end in disunion." "All who go to the Nashville Convention are ultimately to fall into that position." This view is confirmed by Judge Warner and other observers in Georgia and by the unpublished letters of Tucker.[2] "Let the Nashville Convention be held," said the Columbus, Georgia, *Sentinel*, "and let the undivided voice of the South go forth . . . declaring our determination to resist even to civil war."[3] The speech of Rhett of South Carolina, author of the convention's "Address," "frankly and boldly unfurled the flag of disunion." "If every Southern State should quail . . . South Carolina alone should make the issue." "The opinion of the [Nashville] address is, and I believe the opinion of a large portion of the Southern people is, that the Union

[1] Hearndon, *Nashville Convention*, p. 283.
[2] Johnston, *Stephens*, p. 247; *Corr.*, pp. 186, 193, 194, 206–207; Hammond MSS., Jan. 27, Feb. 8.
[3] Ames, *Calhoun*, p. 26.

cannot be made to endure," was delegate Barnwell's admission to Webster.[1]

The influence of the Compromise is brought out in the striking change in the attitude of Senator Foote, and of Judge Sharkey of Mississippi, the author of the radical "Address" of the preliminary Mississippi Convention, and chairman of both this and the Nashville Convention. After the Compromise measures were reported in May by Clay and Webster's committee, Sharkey became convinced that the Compromise should be accepted and so advised Foote. Sharkey also visited Washington and helped to pacify the rising storm by "suggestions to individual Congressmen." [2] In the Nashville Convention, Sharkey therefore exercised a moderating influence as chairman and refused to sign its disunion address. Convinced that the Compromise met essential Southern demands, Sharkey urged that "to resist it would be to dismember the Union." He therefore refused to call a second meeting of the Nashville Convention. For this change in position he was bitterly criticized by Jefferson Davis.[3] Foote recognized the "emergency" at the same time that Webster did, and on February 25, proposed his committee of thirteen to report some "scheme of compromise." Parting company with Calhoun, March 5, on the thesis that the South could not safely remain without new "constitutional guarantees," Foote regarded Webster's speech as "unanswerable," and in April came to an understanding with him as to Foote's committee and their common desire for prompt consideration of California. The importance of Foote's influence in turning the tide in Mississippi, through his pugnacious election campaign, and the significance of his judgment of the influence of Webster and his speech have been somewhat overlooked, partly perhaps because of Foote's swashbuckling characteristics.[4]

[1] Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, X, 161–162.
[2] *Cyclopedia Miss. Hist.*, art. "Sharkey."
[3] Hearon, pp. 124, 171–174. Davis to Clayton (Clayton MSS.), Nov. 22, 1851.
[4] *Globe*, XXI, I, 418, 124, 712; *infra*, pp. 208–209.

That the Southern convention movement proved comparatively innocuous in June is due in part to confidence inspired by the conciliatory policy of one outstanding Northerner, Webster. "Webster's speech," said Winthrop, "has knocked the Nashville Convention into a cocked hat." [1] "The Nashville Convention has been blown by your giant effort to the four winds." [2] "Had you spoken out before this, I verily believe the Nashville Convention had not been thought of. Your speech has disarmed and quieted the South." [3] Webster's speech occasioned hesitation in the South. "This has given courage to all who wavered in their resolution or who were secretly opposed to the measure [Nashville Convention]." [4]

Ames cites nearly a score of issues of newspapers in Mississippi, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, and Virginia reflecting the change in public opinion in March. Even some of the radical papers referred to the favorable effect of Webster's speech and "spirit" in checking excitement. "The Jackson (Mississippi) *Southron* had at first supported the movement [for a Southern Convention], but by March it had grown lukewarm and before the Convention assembled, decidedly opposed it. The last of May it said, 'not a Whig paper in the State approves.'" In the latter part of March, not more than a quarter of sixty papers from ten slave-holding states took decided ground for a Southern Convention.[5] The *Mississippi Free Trader* tried to check the growing support of the Compromise, by claiming that Webster's speech lacked Northern backing. A South Carolina pamphlet cited the Massachusetts opposition to Webster as proof of the political strength of abolition.[6]

The newer, day by day, first-hand evidence, in print and

[1] MSS., Mar. 10.
[2] Anstell, Bethlehem, May 21, Greenough Collection.
[3] Anderson, Tenn., Apr. 8, *ibid.*
[4] Goode, *Hunter Corr.*, Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* (1916, vol. II), p. 111.
[5] Ames, *Calhoun*, pp. 24–27.
[6] Hearon, pp. 120–123; Anonymous, *Letter on Southern Wrongs . . . in Reply to Grayson* (Charleston, 1850).

manuscript, shows the Union in serious danger, with the culmination during the three weeks preceding Webster's speech; with a moderation during March; a growing readiness during the summer to await Congressional action; and slow acquiescence in the Compromise measures of September, but with frank assertion on the part of various Southern states of the right and duty of resistance if the compromise measures were violated. Even in December, 1850, Dr. Alexander of Princeton found sober Virginians fearful that repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act would throw Virginia into the Southern movement and that South Carolina "by some rash act" would precipitate "the crisis." "All seem to regard bloodshed as the inevitable result." [1]

To the judgments and legislative acts of Southerners already quoted, may be added some of the opinions of men from the North. Erving, the diplomat, wrote from New York, "The real danger is in the fanatics and disunionists of the North." "I see no salvation but in the total abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso." Edward Everett, on the contrary, felt that "unless some southern men of influence have courage enough to take grounds against the extension of slavery and in favor of abolition . . . we shall infallibly separate." [2]

A Philadelphia editor who went to Washington to learn the real sentiments of the Southern members, reported February 1, that if the Wilmot Proviso were not given up, ample provision made for fugitive slaves and avoidance of interference with slavery in the District of Columbia, the South would secede, though this was not generally believed in the North. "The North must decide whether she would have the Wilmot Proviso without the Union or the Union without the Wilmot Proviso." [3]

In answer to inquiries from the Massachusetts legislature as to whether the Southern attitude was "bluster" or "firm Resolve," Winthrop wrote, "the country has never been in

[1] *Letters*, II, 111, 121, 127. [2] Winthrop MSS., Jan. 16, Feb. 7.
[3] Philadelphia *Bulletin*, in McMaster, VIII, 15.

more serious exigency than at present." "The South is angry, mad." "The Union must be saved . . . by prudence and forbearance." "Most sober men here are apprehensive that the end of the Union is nearer than they have ever before imagined." "God Preserve the Union is my daily prayer," wrote General Scott.[1]

Webster, however, as late as February 14, believed that there was no "serious danger." February 16, he still felt that "if, on our side, we keep cool, things will come to no dangerous pass."[2] But within the next week, three acts in Washington modified Webster's optimism: the filibuster of Southern members, February 18; their triumph in conference, February 19; their interview with Taylor about February 23.

On February 18, under the leadership of Stephens, the Southern representatives mustered two-thirds of the Southern Whigs and a majority from every Southern state save Maryland for a successful series of over thirty filibustering votes against the admission of California without consideration of the question of slavery in New Mexico and Utah. So indisputable was the demonstration of Southern power to block not only the President's plan but all Congressional legislation, that the Northern leaders next day in conference with Southern representatives agreed that California should be admitted with her free constitution, but that in New Mexico and Utah government should be organized with no prohibition of slavery and with power to form, in respect to slavery, such constitutions as the people pleased—agreements practically enacted in the Compromise.[3]

The filibuster of the 18th of February, Mann described as "a revolutionary proceeding." Its alarming effect on the members of the Cabinet was commented upon by the Boston *Advertiser*, February 19. The New York *Tribune*, February 20, recognized the determination of the South to secede un-

[1] Winthrop MSS., Feb. 10, 6.
[2] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 533; XVIII, 355.
[3] Stephens, *War between the States*, II, 201–205, 232; *Cong. Globe*, XXI, I, 375–384.

less the Missouri Compromise line were extended to the Pacific. February 22, the Springfield *Republican* declared that "if the Union cannot be preserved without the extension of slavery, we allow the tie of Union to be severed." It was on this day, too, that Webster decided "to make a Union speech and discharge a clear conscience."

That same week (apparently February 23) occurred the famous interview of Stephens and Toombs with Taylor which convinced the President that the Southern movement "means disunion." This was Taylor's judgment expressed to Weed and Hamlin, "ten minutes after the interview." A week later the President seemed to Horace Mann to be talking like a child about his plans to levy an embargo and blockade the Southern harbors and "save the Union." Taylor was ready to appeal to arms against "these Southern men in Congress [who] are trying to bring on civil war" in connection with the critical Texas boundary question.[1]

On this 23d of February, Greeley, converted from his earlier and characteristic optimism, wrote in his leading editorial, "instead of scouting or ridiculing as chimerical the idea of a Dissolution of the Union, we firmly believe that there are sixty members of Congress who this day desire it and are plotting to effect it. We have no doubt the Nashville Convention will be held and that the leading purpose of its authors is the separation of the slave states . . . with the formation of an independent Confederacy." "This plot . . . is formidable." He warned against "needless provocation" which would "supply weapons to the Disunionists." A private letter to Greeley from Washington, the same day, says: "H— is alarmed and confident that blood will be spilt on the floor of the House. Many members go to the House armed every day. W— is confident that Disunionism

[1] Thurlow Weed, *Life*, II, 177–178, 180–181 (Gen. Pleasanton's confirmatory letter). Wilson, *Slave Power*, II, 249. Both corroborated by Hamline letter, Rhodes, I, 134. Stephens's letters, N. Y. *Herald*, July 13, Aug. 8, 1876, denying threatening language used by Taylor "in my presence," do not nullify evidence of Taylor's attitude. Mann, *Life*, p. 292. Private Washington letter, Feb. 23, reporting interview, N. Y. *Tribune*, Feb. 25.

is now inevitable. He knows intimately nearly all the Southern members, is familiar with their views and sees the letters that reach them from their constituents. He says the most ultra are well backed up in their advices from home." [1]

The same February 23, the Boston *Advertiser* quoted the Washington correspondence of the *Journal of Commerce:* "excitement pervades the whole South, and Southern members say that it has gone beyond their control, that their tone is moderate in comparison with that of their people." "Persons who condemn Mr. Clay's resolutions now trust to some vague idea that Mr. Webster can do something better." "If Mr. Webster has any charm by the magic influence of which he can control the *ultraism* of the North and of the South, he cannot too soon try its effects." "If Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri go for the Southern movement, we shall have disunion and as much of war as may answer the purposes either of Northern or Southern fanaticism." On this Saturday, February 23, also, "several Southern members of Congress had a long and interesting interview with Mr. Webster." "The whole subject was discussed and the result is, that the limitations of a compromise have been examined, which are satisfactory to our Southern brethren. This is good news, and will surround Mr. Webster's position with an uncommon interest." [2]

"Webster is the only man in the Senate who has a position which would enable him to present a plan which would be carried," said Pratt of Maryland.[3] The *National Intelligencer*, which had hitherto maintained the safety of the Union, confessed by February 21 that "the integrity of the Union *is* at some hazard," quoting Southern evidence of this. On February 25, Foote, in proposing to the Senate a committee of thirteen to report some scheme of compromise, gave it as his conclusion from consultation with both houses, that un-

[1] *Weekly Tribune*, Mar. 2, reprinted from *Daily*, Feb. 27. Cf. Washington *National Intelligencer*, Feb. 21, quoting: Richmond *Enquirer;* Wilmington *Commercial;* Columbia *Telegraph.*

[2] New York *Herald*, Feb. 25; Boston *Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 26.

[3] *Tribune*, Feb. 25.

less something were done at once, power would pass from Congress.

II

It was under these highly critical circumstances that Webster, on Sunday, February 24, the day on which he was accustomed to dine with his unusually well-informed friends, Stephens, Toombs, Clay, and Hale, wrote to his only surviving son:

> I am nearly broken down with labor and anxiety. I know not how to meet the present emergency, or with what weapons to beat down the Northern and Southern follies, now raging in equal extremes. . . . I have poor spirits and little courage. *Non sum qualis eram.*[1]

Mr. Lodge's account of this critical February period shows ignorance not only of the letter of February 24, but of the real situation. He misquotes Von Holst and from unwarranted assumptions draws like conclusions. Before this letter of February 24 and the new cumulative evidence of the crisis, there falls to the ground the sneer in Mr. Lodge's question, "if [Webster's] anxiety was solely of a public nature, why did it date from March 7 when, prior to that time, there was much greater cause for alarm than afterwards?" Webster *was* anxious before the 7th of March, as so many others were, North and South, and his extreme anxiety appears in the letter of February 24, as well as in repeated later utterances. No one can read through the letters of Webster without recognizing that he had a genuine anxiety for the safety of the Union; and that neither in his letters nor elsewhere is there evidence that in his conscience he was "ill at ease" or "his mind not at peace." Here as elsewhere, Mr. Lodge's biography, written nearly forty years ago, reproduces anti-slavery bitterness and ignorance of facts (pardonable in 1850)

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 534.

and seriously misrepresents Webster's character and the situation in that year.[1]

By the last week in February and the first in March, the peak of the secession movement was reached. Like others who loved the Union, convinced during this critical last week in February of an "emergency," Webster determined to make his "Union Speech" and "push the skiff from the shore alone." "We are in a crisis," he wrote again June 2, "if conciliation makes no progress." "It is a great emergency that the country is placed in," he said in the Senate, June 17. "We have," he wrote in October, "gone through the most important crisis which has occurred since the foundation of the government." A year later he added at Buffalo, "if we had not settled these agitating questions [by the Compromise] . . . in my opinion, there would have been civil war." In Virginia, where he had known the situation even better, he declared, "I believe in my conscience that a crisis was at hand, a dangerous, a fearful crisis." [2]

Rhodes's conclusion that there was "little danger of an overt act of secession while General Taylor was in the presidential chair" was based on evidence then incomplete and is abandoned by more recent historians. It is moreover significant that, of the speeches cited by Rhodes, ridiculing the danger of secession, not one was delivered *before* Webster's speech. All were uttered *after* the danger had been lessened by the speeches and attitude of Clay and Webster. Even such Northern anti-slavery speeches illustrated danger of another sort. Hale of New Hampshire "would let them go" rather than surrender the rights threatened by the fugitive slave bill. [3] Giddings in the very speech ridiculing the danger of disunion said, "when they see fit to leave the Union, I would say to them 'Go in peace.'" [4] Such utterances played into the hands of secessionists, strengthening their convic-

[1] Lodge's reproduction of Parton, pp. 16–17, 98, 195, 325–326, 349, 353, 356, 360. Other errors in Lodge's *Webster*, pp. 45, 314, 322, 328, 329–330, 352.
[2] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 542, 568; X, 116; Curtis, *Life*, II, 596; XIII, 434.
[3] Mar. 19, *Cong. Globe*, XXII, II, 1063. [4] Aug. 12, *ibid.*, p. 1562.

tions that the North despised the South and would not fight to keep her in the Union.

It is now clear that in 1850 as in 1860 the average Northern senator or anti-slavery minister or poet was ill-informed or careless as to the danger of secession, and that Webster and the Southern Unionists were well-informed and rightly anxious. Theodore Parker illustrated the bitterness that befogs the mind. He concluded that there was no danger of dissolution because "the public funds of the United States did not go down one mill." The stock market might, of course, change from many causes, but Parker was wrong as to the facts. An examination of the daily sales of United States bonds in New York, 1849–1850, shows that the change, instead of being "not one mill," as Parker asserted, was four or five dollars during this period; and what change there was, was downward before Webster's speech and upward thereafter.[1]

We now realize what Webster knew and feared in 1849–1850. "If this strife between the South and the North goes on, we shall have war, and who is ready for that?" "There would have been a Civil War if the Compromise had not passed." The evidence confirms Thurlow Weed's mature judgment: "the country had every appearance of being on the eve of a Revolution."[2] On February 28, Everett recognized that "the radicals at the South have made up their minds to separate, the catastrophe seems to be inevitable."[3]

On March 1, Webster recorded his determination "to make an honest truth-telling speech and a Union speech." The Washington correspondent of the *Advertiser*, March 4, reported that Webster will "take a large view of the state of things and advocate a straight-forward course of legislation essentially such as the President has recommended." "To

[1] *U. S. Bonds* (1867). About 112–113, Dec., Jan., Feb., 1850; "inactive" before Webster's speech; "firmer," Mar. 8; advanced to 117, 119, May; 116–117 after Compromise.

[2] E. P. Wheeler, *Sixty Years of American Life*, p. 6; cf. Webster's Buffalo Speech, Curtis, *Life*, II, 576; Weed, *Autobiography*, p. 596.

[3] Winthrop MSS.

this point public sentiment has been gradually converging." "It will tend greatly to confirm opinion in favor of this course should it meet with the decided concurrence of Mr. Webster." The attitude of the plain citizen is expressed by Barker, of Beaver, Pennsylvania, on the same day, "do it, Mr. Webster, as you can, do it as a bold and gifted statesman and patriot; reconcile the North and South and *preserve* the *Union*." "Offer, Mr. Webster, a liberal compromise to the South." On March 4 and 5, Calhoun's Senate speech reasserted that the South, no longer safe in the Union, possessed the right of peaceable secession. On the 6th of March, Webster went over the proposed speech of the next morning with his son Fletcher, Edward Curtis, and Peter Harvey.[1]

III

It was under the cumulative stress of such convincing evidence, public and private utterances, and acts in Southern legislatures and in Congress, that Webster made his Union speech on the 7th of March. The purpose and character of the speech are rightly indicated by its title, "The Constitution and the Union," and by the significant dedication to the people of Massachusetts: "Necessity compels me to speak true rather than pleasing things." "I should indeed like to please you; but I prefer to save you, whatever be your attitude toward me."[2] The malignant charge that this speech was "a bid for the presidency" was long ago discarded, even by Lodge. It unfortunately survives in textbooks more concerned with "atmosphere" than with truth. The modern investigator finds no evidence for it and every evidence against it. Webster was both too proud and too familiar with the political situation, North and South, to make such a monstrous mistake. The printed or manuscript

[1] Webster to Harvey, Apr. 7, MS. Middletown (Conn.) Hist. Soc., adds Fletcher's name. Received through the kindness of Professor George M. Dutcher.

[2] *Writings and Speeches*, X, 57; "Notes for the Speech," 281–291; Winthrop MSS., Apr. 3.

letters to or from Webster in 1850 and 1851 show him and his friends deeply concerned over the danger to the Union, but not about the presidency. There is rarest mention of the matter in letters by personal or political friends; none by Webster, so far as the writer has observed.

If one comes to the speech familiar with both the situation in 1850 as now known, and with Webster's earlier and later speeches and private letters, one finds his position and arguments on the 7th of March in harmony with his attitude toward Union and slavery, and with the law and the facts. Frankly reiterating both his earlier view of slavery "as a great moral, political and social evil" and his lifelong devotion to the Union and its constitutional obligations, Webster took national, practical, courageous grounds. On the fugitive slave bill and the Wilmot Proviso, where cautious Whigs like Winthrop and Everett were inclined to keep quiet in view of Northern popular feeling, Webster "took a large view of things" and resolved, as Foote saw, to risk his reputation in advocating the only practicable solution. Not only was Webster thoroughly familiar with the facts, but he was preeminently logical and, as Calhoun had admitted, once convinced, "he cannot look truth in the face and oppose it by arguments." [1] He therefore boldly faced the truth that the Wilmot Proviso (as it proved later) was needless, and would irritate Southern Union men and play into hands of disunionists who frankly desired to exploit this "insult" to excite secession sentiment. In a like case ten years later, "the Republican party took precisely the same ground held by Mr. Webster in 1850 and acted from the motives that inspired the 7th of March speech." [2]

Webster's anxiety for a conciliatory settlement of the highly dangerous Texas boundary situation (which incidentally narrowed slave territory) was as consistent with his national Union policy, as his desires for California's ad-

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XVIII, 371–372.
[2] Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, I, 269–271.

mission as a free state and for prohibition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia were in accord with his opposition to slavery. Seeing both abolitionists and secessionists threatening the Union, he rebuked both severely for disloyalty to their "constitutional obligations," while he pleaded for a more conciliatory attitude, for faith and charity rather than "heated imaginations." The only logical alternative to the union policy was disunion, advocated alike by Garrisonian abolitionists and Southern secessionists. "The Union . . . was thought to be in danger, and devotion to the Union rightfully inclined men to yield . . . where nothing else could have so inclined them," was Lincoln's luminous defense of the Compromise in his debate with Douglas.[1]

Webster's support of the constitutional provision for "return of persons held to service" was not merely that of a lawyer. It was in accord with a deep and statesmanlike conviction that "obedience to established government . . . is a Christian duty," the seat of law is "the bosom of God, her voice the harmony of the universe." [2] Offensive as this law was to the North, the only logical alternatives were to fulfil or to annul the Constitution. Webster chose to risk his reputation; the extreme abolitionists, to risk the Union. Webster felt, as his opponents later recognized, that "the habitual cherishing of the principle," "resistance to unjust laws is obedience to God," threatened the Constitution. "He . . . addressed himself, therefore, to the duty of calling the American people back from revolutionary theories to . . . submission to authority." [3] As in 1830 against Hayne, so in 1850 against Calhoun and disunion, Webster stood not as "a Massachusetts man, but as an American," for "the preservation of the Union." [4] In both speeches he held that he was acting not for Massachusetts, but for the "whole country" (1830), "the good of the whole" (1850). His devotion to the Union and his intellectual balance led

[1] *Works*, II, 202–203.
[2] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 580–581.
[3] Seward, *Works*, III, 111–116.
[4] *Writings and Speeches*, X, 57, 97.

him to reject the impatience, bitterness, and disunion sentiments of abolitionists and secessionists. "We must wait for the slow progress of moral causes," a doctrine already announced in 1840, he reiterated in 1850.[1]

IV

The earlier accounts of Webster as losing his friends are at variance with the facts. Cautious Northerners naturally hesitated to support him and face both the popular convictions on fugitive slaves and the rasping vituperation that exhausted sacred and profane history in the epithets current in that "era of warm journalistic manners"; Abolitionists and Free Soilers congratulated one another that they had "killed Webster." In Congress no Northern man save Ashmun of Massachusetts supported him in any speech for months. On the other hand, Webster did retain the friendship and confidence of leaders and common men North and South, and the tremendous influence of his personality and "unanswerable" arguments eventually swung the North for the Compromise. From Boston came prompt expressions of "entire concurrence" in his speech by 800 representative men, including George Ticknor, William H. Prescott, Rufus Choate, Josiah Quincy, President Sparks and Professor Felton of Harvard, Professors Woods, Stuart, and Emerson of Andover, and other leading professional, literary, and business men. Similar addresses were sent to him from about the same number of men in New York, from supporters in Newburyport, Medford, Kennebeck River, Philadelphia, the Detroit Common Council, Manchester, New Hampshire, and "the neighbors" in Salisbury. His old Boston Congressional district triumphantly elected Eliot, one of Webster's most loyal supporters, by a vote of 2,355 against 473 for Charles Sumner. The Massachusetts legislature overwhelmingly defeated a proposal to instruct Webster to vote

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XIII, 595; X, 65.

for the Wilmot Proviso. Scores of unpublished letters in the New Hampshire Historical Society and the Library of Congress reveal hearty approval from both parties and all sections. Winthrop of Massachusetts, too cautious to endorse Webster's entire position, wrote to the governor of Massachusetts that as a result of the speech, "disunion stock is already below par." [1] "You have performed the responsible duties of a national Senator," wrote General Dearborn. "I thank you because you did not speak upon the subject as a Massachusetts man," said Reverend Thomas Worcester of Boston, an overseer of Harvard. "Your speech has saved the Union," was the verdict of Barker of Pennsylvania, a man not of Webster's party.[2] "The Union threatened . . . you have come to the rescue, and all disinterested lovers of that Union must rally round you," wrote Wainwright of New York. In Alabama, Reverend J. W. Allen recognized the "comprehensive and self-forgetting spirit of patriotism" in Webster, "which, if followed, would save the Union, unite the country and prevent the danger in the Nashville Convention." Like approval of Webster's "patriotic stand for the preservation of the Union" was sent from Green County and Greensboro in Alabama and from Tennessee and Virginia.[3] "The preservation of the Union is the only safety-valve. On Webster depends the tranquillity of the country," says an anonymous writer from Charleston, a native of Massachusetts and former pupil of Webster.[4] Poinsett and Francis Lieber, South Carolina Unionists, expressed like views.[5] The growing influence of the speech is testified to in letters from all sections. Linus Child of Lowell finds it modifying his own previous opinions and believes that "shortly if not at this moment, it will be approved by a large majority of the people of Massachusetts." [6] "Upon sober second thought, our people will generally coincide

[1] Mar. 10. MS., "Private," to Governor Clifford.
[2] Mar. 11, Apr. 13. Webster papers, N. H. Hist. Soc., cited hereafter as "N.H."
[3] Mar. 11, 25, 22, 17, 26, 28. Greenough Collection.
[4] May 20. N.H. [5] Apr. 19, May 4. N.H. [6] Apr. 1. Greenough.

with your views," wrote ex-Governor and ex-Mayor Armstrong of Boston.[1] "Every day adds to the number of those who agree with you," is the confirmatory testimony of Dana, trustee of Andover and former president of Dartmouth.[2] "The effect of your speech begins to be felt," wrote ex-Mayor Eliot of Boston.[3] Mayor Huntington of Salem at first felt the speech to be too Southern; but "subsequent events at North and South have entirely satisfied me that you were right . . . and vast numbers of others here in Massachusetts were wrong." "The change going on in me has been going on all around me." "You saw farther ahead than the rest or most of us and had the courage and patriotism to stand upon the true ground."[4] This significant inedited letter is but a specimen of the change of attitude manifested in hundreds of letters from "slow and cautious Whigs."[5] One of these, Edward Everett, unable to accept Webster's attitude on Texas and the fugitive slave bill, could not "entirely concur" in the Boston letter of approval. "I think our friend will be able to carry the weight of it at home, but as much as ever." "It would, as you justly said," he wrote Winthrop, "have ruined any other man." This probably gives the position taken at first by a good many moderate anti-slavery men. Everett's later attitude is likewise typical of a change in New England. He wrote in 1851 that Webster's speech "more than any other cause, contributed to avert the catastrophe," and was "a practical basis for the adjustment of controversies, which had already gone far to dissolve the Union."[6]

Isaac Hill, a bitter New Hampshire political opponent, confesses that Webster's "kindly answer" to Calhoun was wiser than his own might have been. Hill, an experienced political observer, had feared in the month preceding Web-

[1] *Writings and Speeches*, XVIII, 357. [2] Apr. 19. N.H.
[3] June 12. N.H. Garrison childishly printed Eliot's name upside down, and between black lines, *Liberator*, Sept. 20.
[4] Dec. 13. N.H. [5] *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 582.
[6] Winthrop MSS., Mar. 21 and Apr. 10, 1850, Nov., 1851; Curtis, *Life*, II, 580; Everett's *Memoir;* Webster's *Works* (1851), I, clvii.

ster's speech a "disruption of the Union" with "no chance of escaping a conflict of blood." He felt that the censures upon Webster were undeserved, that Webster was not merely right, but he had "power he can exercise at the North, beyond any other man," and that "all that is of value will declare in favor of the great principles of your late Union speech." [1] "Its tranquilizing effect upon public opinion has been wonderful"; "it has almost the unanimous support of this community," wrote the New York philanthropist Minturn.[2] "The speech made a powerful impression in this state. . . . Men feel they can stand on it with security." [3] In Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Pittsfield (with only one exception) the speech was found "wise and patriotic." [4] The sender of a resolution of approval from the grand jury of the United States court at Indianapolis says that such judgment is almost universal.[5] "It is thought you may save the country . . . you may keep us still united," wrote Thornton of Memphis, who soberly records the feeling of thoughtful men that the Southern purpose of disunion was stronger than appeared in either newspapers or political gatherings.[6] "Your speech has disarmed—has quieted the South;[7] has rendered invaluable service to the harmony and union of the South and the North." [8] "I am confident of the higher approbation, not of a single section of the Union, but of all sections," wrote a political opponent in Washington.[9]

The influence of Webster in checking the radical purposes of the Nashville Convention has been shown above.[10]

All classes of men from all sections show a substantial and growing backing of Webster's 7th of March speech as "the only statesmanlike and practicable way to save the Union." "To you, more than to any other statesman of modern times,

[1] Apr. 17, to Webster. *Liberator*, Dec. 27, 1850, May 8, 1856. Curtis, *Life*, II, 429 n.
[2] Apr. 4. N.H.
[3] Barnard, Albany, Apr. 19. N.H.
[4] Mar. 15, 28. N.H.
[5] June 10. Greenough.
[6] Mar. 28. Greenough.
[7] H. I. Anderson, Tenn., Apr. 8. Greenough.
[8] Nelson, Va., May 2. N.H.
[9] Mar. 8. Greenough.
[10] Pp. 192–194.

do the people of this country owe their national feeling which we trust is to save this Union in this its hour of trial," was the judgment of "the neighbors," the plain farmers of Webster's old New Hampshire home.[1] Outside of the Abolition and Free Soil press, the growing tendency in newspapers, like that of their readers, was to support Webster's logical position.[2]

Exaggerated though some of these expressions of approval may have been, they balance the exaggerated vituperation of Webster in the anti-slavery press; and the extremes of approval and disapproval both concur in recognizing the widespread effect of the speech, "No speech ever delivered in Congress produced . . . so beneficial a change of opinion. The change of feeling and temperament wrought in Congress by this speech is miraculous." [3]

The contemporary testimony to Webster's checking of disunion is substantiated by the conclusions of Petigru of South Carolina, Cobb of Georgia in 1852, Allen of Pennsylvania in 1853, and by Stephens's mature judgment of "the profound sensation upon the public mind throughout the Union made by Webster's 7th of March speech. The friends of the Union under the Constitution were strengthened in their hopes and inspired with renewed energies." [4] In 1874 Foote wrote, "The speech produced beneficial effects everywhere. His statement of facts was generally looked upon as unanswerable; his argumentative conclusions appeared to be inevitable; his conciliatory tone . . . softened the sensibilities of all patriots." [5] "He seems to have gauged more accurately [than most] the grave dangers which threatened the republic and . . . the fearful consequences which must follow its disruption," was Henry Wilson's later and wiser

[1] August, 1850; 127 signatures. N.H.
[2] Ogg, *Webster*, p. 379; Rhodes, I, 157–158.
[3] New York *Journal of Commerce*, Boston *Advertiser*, Richmond *Whig*, Mar. 12; Baltimore *Sun*, Mar. 18; Ames, *Calhoun*, p. 25; Boston *Watchman and Reflector*, in *Liberator*, Apr. 1.
[4] *War between the States*, II, 211.
[5] *Civil War* (1866), pp. 130–131.

judgment.[1] "The general judgment," said Senator Hoar in 1899, "seems to be coming to the conclusion that Webster differed from the friends of freedom of his time not in a weaker moral sense, but only in a larger, and profounder prophetic vision." "He saw what no other man saw, the certainty of civil war. I was one of those who . . . judged him severely, but I have learned better." "I think of him now . . . as the orator who bound fast with indissoluble strength the bonds of union." [2]

Modern writers, North and South—Garrison, Chadwick, T. C. Smith, Merriam, for instance[3]—now recognize the menace of disunion in 1850 and the service of Webster in defending the Union. Rhodes, though condemning Webster's support of the fugitive slave bill, recognizes that the speech was one of the few that really altered public opinion and won necessary Northern support for the Compromise. "We see now that in the War of the Rebellion his principles were mightier than those of Garrison." "It was not the Liberty or Abolitionist party, but the Union party that won." [4]

Postponement of secession for ten years gave the North preponderance in population, voting power, production, and transportation, new party organization, and convictions which made man-power and economic resources effective. The Northern lead of four million people in 1850 had increased to seven millions by 1860. In 1850, each section had thirty votes in the Senate; in 1860, the North had a majority of six, due to the admission of California, Oregon, and Minnesota. In the House of Representatives, the North had added seven to her majority. The Union states and territories built during the decade 15,000 miles of railroad, to 7,000 or 8,000 in the eleven seceding states. In shipping, the North in 1860 built about 800 vessels to the seceding

[1] *Slave Power*, II, 246. [2] *Scribner's Magazine*, XXVI, 84.
[3] Garrison, *Westward Expansion*, pp. 327–332; Chadwick, *The Causes of the Civil War*, pp. 49–51; Smith, *Parties and Slavery*, p. 9; Merriam, *Life of Bowles*, I, 81.
[4] Rhodes, I, 157, 161.

states' 200. In 1860, in the eleven most important industries for war, Chadwick estimates that the Union states produced $735,500,000; the seceding states $75,250,000, "a manufacturing productivity eleven times as great for the North as for the South." [1] In general, during the decade, the census figures for 1860 show that since 1850 the North had increased its man-power, transportation, and economic production from two to fifty times as fast as the South, and that in 1860 the Union states were from two to twelve times as powerful as the seceding states.

Possibly Southern secessionists and Northern abolitionists had some basis for thinking that the North would let the "erring sisters depart in peace" in 1850. Within the next ten years, however, there came a decisive change. The North, exasperated by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, the high-handed acts of Southerners in Kansas in 1856, and the Dred Scott *dictum* of the Supreme Court in 1857, felt that these things amounted to a repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the opening up of the territory to slavery. In 1860 Northern conviction, backed by an effective, thorough party platform on a Union basis, swept the free states. In 1850, it was a "Constitutional Union" party that accepted the Compromise and arrested secession in the South; and Webster, foreseeing a "remodelling of parties," had prophesied that "there must be a Union party." [2] Webster's spirit and speeches and his strengthening of federal power through Supreme Court cases won by his arguments had helped to furnish the conviction which underlay the Union Party of 1860 and 1864. His consistent opposition to nullification and secession, and his appeal to the Union and to the Constitution during twenty years preceding the Civil War—from his reply to Hayne to his seventh of March speech—had developed a spirit capable of making economic and political power effective. Men inclined to sneer at Webster for his interest

[1] *Preliminary Report*, Eighth Census, 1860; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, p. 28.

[2] Oct. 2, 1850. *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 568–569.

in manufacturing, farming, and material prosperity, may well remember that in his mind, and more slowly in the minds of the North, economic progress went hand in hand with the development of union and of liberty secured by law.

Whether we look to the material progress of the North from 1850 to 1860 or to its development in "imponderables," Webster's policy and his power over men's thoughts and deeds were essential factors in the ultimate triumph of the Union, which would have been at least dubious had secession been attempted in 1850. It was a soldier, not the modern orator, who said that "Webster shotted our guns." A letter to Senator Hoar from another Union soldier says that he kept up his heart as he paced up and down as sentinel in an exposed place by repeating over and over, "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable." [1] Hosmer tells us that he and his boyhood friends of the North in 1861 "did not argue much the question of the right of secession," but that it was the words of Webster's speeches, "as familiar to us as the sentences of the Lord's prayer and scarcely less consecrated, . . . with which we sprang to battle." Those boys were not ready in 1850. The decisive human factors in the Civil War were the men bred on the profound devotion to the Union which Webster shared with others equally patriotic, but less profoundly logical, less able to mould public opinion. Webster not only saw the vision himself; he had the genius to make the plain American citizen see that liberty could come through union and not through disunion. Moreover, there was in Webster and the Compromise of 1850 a spirit of conciliation, and therefore there was on the part of the North a belief that they had given the South a "square deal," and a corresponding indignation at the attempts in the next decade to expand slavery by violating the Compromises of 1820 and 1850. So, by 1860, the decisive border states and Northwest were ready to stand behind the Union. Lincoln, born in a border state and

[1] *Scribner*, XXVI, 84; *American Law Review*, XXXV, 804.

bred in the Northwest, and on Webster's doctrine, "the Union is paramount," when he accepted the Republican platform in 1864 summed up the issues of the long struggle in Webster's words of 1830, repeated in briefer form in the 7th of March speech, "Liberty and Union." [1]

[1] Nicolay and Hay, IX, 76.

WEBSTER AND CHOATE IN COLLEGE

DARTMOUTH UNDER THE CURRICULUM OF 1796–1819[1]

THE biographies of Webster are inadequate and misleading in their stories of his undergraduate life. In the case of Choate, there has been a dimness of picture unworthy of so extraordinary a combination of finest scholarship and extraordinary power as an advocate.

New evidence as to the college career of these two life-long friends has come to light in a dozen manuscript sources:—the curriculum under which both were educated; Webster's college and town bills; library records; six college letters of Webster, Rufus Choate, and his brother Washington; Choate's entrance certificate; Dr. Upham's Personal Reminiscences of Choate; and the undergraduate compositions of Webster's classmate Loveland (1801) and Asa Hazen (1812). There have also become available since Professor Richardson's scholarly and memorable address at the Webster Centennial, 1901, new contemporary evidence in print:—in Vantyne's Letters of Webster, and the National Edition of Webster's Writings; the autobiographies of Judah Dana (1793) and John Ball (1820); three diaries,—of Reverend William Bentley for 1793, Dr. Horatio Newhall, 1819, and William Smith, 1822; and letters in the Life of Dr. Lyman Spaulding, Lecturer in Chemistry, 1798–1800. With this new material and a re-examination of the other contemporary testimony,—Webster's autobiography, his undergraduate writings, the records of Phi Beta Kappa, United Fraternity, Social Friends, and the letters and personal reminiscences of the two men and more than a score of their contemporaries,—there is justification for an attempt to reconstruct, on first hand evidence, the life of these men and their college under

[1] Reprinted from *The Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, April and May, 1927.

the old curriculum, from 1797 when Webster entered until 1819 when Choate graduated.

That curriculum contained in the "Laws to be observed by the members of Dartmouth College," enacted by the Trustees February 9, 1796, covered: admission; curriculum; vacations and hours for recreation; boarding, lodging, etc.; expenses and bills; "exhibitions"; fines; library rules. It was essentially a joint action of faculty and trustees; for all the teaching force save the tutor were Trustees. Nor was it the act of ministers. The President and the majority of the Trustees were laymen, men of affairs, prominent in public service. Five had experience in teaching or preparing college students. Six were graduates of Yale or Princeton; only two of Dartmouth. From this representative and liberal board came a timely and fruitful educational programme, especially interesting in comparison with the selective process and the new curriculum requirements of to-day.

The admission requirements of 1796–1819 demanded: evidence of "good moral character"; an examination to test the requirement that candidates "be versed in Virgil, Cicero's Select Orations, the Greek Testament, be able accurately to translate English into Latin and also understand the fundimental (*sic*) rules of arithmetic"; a bond of $300 for payment of college bills.

We can see the fifteen-year-old Freshman Webster, "Black Dan," of swarthy skin, spare of frame, thin-faced, with prominent cheekbones, and piercing black eyes—"full, steady, large, and searching"—"peering out under dark overhanging brows" and "broad, intellectual forehead," ushered into the room in the tavern where other candidates were gathered that "we might brush our clothes and make ready for the examination." "He had an independent air and was rather careless in his dress and appearance, but showed an intelligent look," wrote his room-mate Bingham. The tavern of 1797, where Webster spent his first night in college, later the home of Squire Olcott and Dr. Leeds, still looks

out upon the campus between the white church and Webster Hall.

For examination in the four subjects (Greek, Latin, English, and Arithmetic) the candidate went in turn to each of the four members of the faculty. The last examiner then "directed me," says Freshman Smith's Diary of 1822, "to call at the President's at two o'clock at which time and place I should receive my destiny—I called where I found the four Sages seated in Majesty—after I was seated the President informed me that I was admitted a Student of Dartmouth College."

The system combined the advantages of school certificate and college examination, in a selective process which attracted a striking proportion of men of brains and back-bone, undaunted by the challenge of an examination. One cannot resist this query. Would a like combination in the selective process of to-day (adding to the school certificate some test of intellectual training and capacity by the college *before* admission) tend to eliminate some of the too many socially ambitious, going to college, but never through college?

The "certificate" is illustrated by the recently discovered recommendation of Rufus Choate by his teacher, James Adams (1813). It not merely certifies "good moral character," and scholarship in school; it also recommends Choate for examination by the men who were to teach him in college.

"Hampton, (N. H.)
August 4, 1815.

"Hon'd Sir,

"I have the pleasure of recommending the bearer, Mr. Rufus Choate of Ipswich, Mass., to you for examination for a standing in the freshman class. He has read his preparatory classics, Virgil, Cicero's orations, & Greek testament,—under my care; and *I think that he has studied them thoroughly*. But of this you will be better convinced when you have learned it from himself, and I doubt not but, in a very short time he will give you evidence of it to your satisfaction.

"While with pleasure and confidence I recommend him as a

scholar, with no less of either do I assure you of the correctness of his morals. He is free from any of those vices or bad habits, which injure the happiness of society, or would disturb the peace of the Institution. His moral character so far as I have been able to learn, is irreproachable. With sentiments of esteem, I am

"Hond Sir, your humble servt.

"James Adams.

Hon. John Wheelock, L.L. D."

The curriculum from 1796 to 1819 under which Webster and Choate were educated is thus stated in the Laws of 1796.

"It shall be the duty of the student to study the languages, sciences & arts at the college in the following order, viz: The Freshmen, the Latin and Greek classics, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Rhetoric & the Elements of Criticism.—The Sophimores (*sic*) Latin, and Greek classics, Logic, Arithmetic, Geography, Geometry, Trigonometry, Algebra, Conic Sections, Surveying, mensuration of heights and distances & the Belles Lettres. —The Juniors the Latin and Greek Classics, Geometry, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy.—The Seniors Metaphysics, Theology & Natural and Politic Law.—The study of Hebrew and other oriental languages as also of the French languages is recommended to the students.—All the classes shall attend to composition and speaking as the authority may direct." "Members of the classes in rotation shall declaim before the officers in the chapel on every Wednesday at two o'clock in the afternoon." "And on the first Wednesday in every month the members of the Senior class shall hold forensic disputation in the chapel immediately after declamations. At these exercises all students are required to be present."

Haddock, Professor of Rhetoric, reported in 1829 he examined 1,472 compositions, heard 124 dissertations and declamations, and 50 performances for "exhibition" and Commencement. This meant over ten "performances" of some sort for each undergraduate annually, and nearly as many daily for the unfortunate professor. This evidence is of double interest because it indicates the functions of a brilliant teacher, Charles B. Haddock, Choate's fellow-stu-

dent and fellow-member of the faculty; secondly because Haddock had just persuaded his uncle, Daniel Webster, to come and talk "to your boys at Hanover," and aid in developing keener interest in writing and speaking. In a letter commending Haddock's work, Webster suggests characteristics of undergraduate life common to both 1825 and 1927.

"The tendencies of a college life are doubtless drowsy; and you deserve therefore the more praise for showing signs of life. It is not always that a pulsation manifests itself in those sons of leisure, who having no absolute engagements for the future, refer to the blank of tomorrow whatever might have made today something better than a blank."

Forty-five subjects for "composition and speaking" suggested by the resourceful Professor Haddock for Freshmen Compositions are recorded in the Commonplace Book of William Smith: "the pleasures and pains of the student"; "discovery of Herculaneum"; "whether extensiveness of territory be favourable to preservation of a republican government"; "the pursuit of fame"; "reflection, reading and observation as affording knowledge of human nature"; "are the natural abilities of the sexes equal?"

The fourteen Sophomore compositions of Webster's classmate Loveland upon "Detraction, Selfishness, Avarice, Friendship, Mankind framed for society, Imperfection the lot of man, Reason productive of happiness, Liability of man to err, Systems of government never long endure, French Revolution's abolition of religion, Do to others as you would they should do to you, *Malo periculosam libertatem quam quietum servitium*," show the vague generalizations inherent in the subjects and in Sophomore writers; but also manifest orderly arrangement and felicitous phrasing. In addition to such biweekly, one-page compositions, Loveland and Webster would have prepared disputations or orations. The fifty-three compositions or orations of Asa Hazen (1812) show his growing power in successive years. His Freshman com-

position, "Man is never content with his present conditions," was so true that he logically demonstrated it by writing much better Sophomore and Junior compositions on "Man is continually changing the object of his desires"; and "The passions of mankind are continually changing." Sentiments of his day and section on the eve of the Hartford Convention are reflected in his Junior debate arguing that the separation of the United States would promote the interests of mankind, because sectional animosities and clashings of interests make it "better to divide now than after a civil war." Loveland's Sophomore compositions contained on an average about two hundred and fifty words; Hazen's compositions about five hundred, and his debates about fifteen hundred words. There are indications of instructor's corrections and student's rewriting.

Professor Colby's careful research in his valuable account of "Legal and Political Studies in Dartmouth College, 1796–1896" led him to conclude that the Junior study, "Natural and Moral Philosophy," was probably based in 1796 (as in 1816) on Paley's *Moral and Political Philosophy;* and the Senior Study, "Natural and Political Law," on Burlamaqui's *Principles of Natural and Political Law*, first published in Geneva in 1747. In confirmation of Professor Colby's conclusion as to Burlamaqui, is Webster's letter two weeks after graduation: "I expect next to *review* Burlamaqui and Montesquieu." Burlamaqui's *Natural Law*, one of the staple books of that day (a favorite of John Adams and Alexander Hamilton), had appeared in seven editions in English before 1800, and was on sale at the "Hanover Bookstore" in 1801. Four copies had been acquired by the college library by 1796. It was also in duplicate in the first printed library catalogues of the Social Friends, 1810, and United Fraternity, 1812. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase (1826), like Webster, wrote: "I had looked through Burlamaqui at College." At Harvard Burlamaqui and Paley were text-books required in the Laws of 1816.

The curriculum and nine of the text-books in Choate's undergraduate days are definitely known through the report of the New Hampshire Legislative Committee in 1816 based upon a visit to Hanover.

"*For the Freshman Class.* Cicero de Oratore, Graeca Majora, Livy, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Rhetoric, Composition and Speaking.

The first three of these have been introduced at different times since the year 1806, instead of Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and the Greek Testament, now required before admission to college.

For the Sophomore Class. Horace, Graeca Majora, Geography, Algebra, Euclid four books (introduced since 1800), Mensuration, Trigonometry, Surveying, Navigation, Logic, Composition and Speaking.

Horace was taken from the Junior and introduced to the Sophomore Class in place of Cicero de Oratore. Graeca Majora has been recently substituted for Horace.

For the Junior Class. Graeca Majora, Tacitus (introduced in place of Horace), Euclid, 5th and 6th books, Conic Sections, Chemistry (introduced in 1813), Kaime's elements of criticism, Paley's moral Philosophy, Paley's natural Theology, Alison on Taste, Enfield's Philosophy and Astronomy, Composition and Speaking.

For the Senior Class. Locke on Human Understanding, Edwards on the Will, Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind (both volumes), Burlamaqui on Natural and Politic Law, reviewing of the Greek and Latin languages (introduced since 1804), and Composition.

"The three lower classes have ordinarily three exercises in a day; in these classes much more attention is paid to the study of composition than formerly."

Copies of fifteen of these text-books (practically all that can be identified, save Enfield's Philosophy) remained in Choate's library at his death forty years after graduation.

Webster's curriculum was substantially that of Choate, the few changes by Choate's time consisting mainly in the strengthening of the classics and the addition of navigation and chemistry. With a possible margin of error, especially as to text-books, the following is a reconstruction of the cur-

riculum under which Webster was educated. It is based upon the Laws of 1796; the Legislative Report of 1816 (with due attention to the changes there indicated as having taken place since 1800); library records; Webster's and Wheelock's letters.

Freshman Year.

Virgil, Cicero's Orations, Greek Testament, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Rhetoric, Composition and Speaking.

Webster speaks of reading Cicero Freshman year.

Sophomore Year.

Cicero de Oratore, Graeca Majora, Geography, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Surveying, Mensuration of heights and distances, the Belles Lettres, Logic, Composition and Speaking.

Webster recalled with especial interest Sophomore work in "Geography, Logic, Mathematics." "Belles Lettres" was probably covered by Kaime's Elements of Criticism, and Alison's Essay on the Nature of Principles of Taste, used by Asa Hazen of the class of 1812, and required in 1816. Kaime's Elements of Criticism is among prerequisites for entering Junior year (in Wheelock's letter of 1800 to Lyman Spaulding) beside "English language, Virgil, Tully's Orations, Greek Testament, one or two books of Homer, Arithmetic, Trigonometry, Geography, Logic, Tully, *de Oratore*."

Junior Year.

Horace; Graeca Majora; Geometry, Paley's Moral and Political Philosophy; Paley's Natural Theology; Composition and Speaking; Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, presumably as in 1816, Enfield's *Institutes of Natural Philosophy*, (I) *Physics*, (II) *Astronomy*, of which the second edition was published in 1799.

Senior Year.

The 1796 provision for "Metaphysics, Theology and Natural Law" apparently was met, as in 1816, by "Locke on Human Understanding, Edwards on the Will, Stewart's Philosophy of the Mind, Burlamaqui on Natural and Political Law." In his Senior year, Webster records his appreciation of Locke and his reading with great admiration Stewart's Philosophy. All four were certainly the text-books in Choate's day; and Locke, Edwards, and Stewart continued to be required in the revised curriculum of 1822.

In the Harvard Laws of 1816, Locke, Stewart, Burlamaqui, Paley and Enfield were all likewise required, Locke's Human

Understanding having been made a text-book about 1737. "Seniors recite Locke," says Stiles, 1779, when Edwards was also used at Yale. The interesting Dartmouth library records show that as early as 1774–1777, Locke's "Essay on the Human Understanding" was drawn by students some 32 times, Edwards "On the Will" 22 times, and that all these text-books were in the college library in Webster's day. The continuing use of Locke and the high opinion entertained of him by Seniors is evidenced in Webster's graduation oration, and in the correspondence of himself and his brother Ezekiel when the latter was a Senior, 1803.

The curriculum was well adapted to the vocations of the men of that time. Of 234 graduates in the seven college classes known to Webster (1798 to 1804) 41% became lawyers; 25% ministers; 12% teachers; 8% physicians. 86% went into these four professions; less than 6% into business. In Choate's day (classes 1816 to 1822), the percentage of professional men was even more marked, 97 in the four professions: ministry 43 (an increase significant of the greater religious interest during this period); law 33; teaching 12; medicine 9. In the fourteen classes known to Webster or Choate, the percentages were: lawyers 35; ministers 33; physicians 13; teachers 12. For the first fifty years, the percentages are almost identical, slightly larger for lawyers, and smaller for ministers. The most striking thing is the constant and overwhelming number going into the four professions. In the classes known to Webster or Choate, and the twenty-six classes under the 1796 curriculum, 93 per cent became lawyers, ministers, physicians or teachers. In the first fifty years, 90 per cent entered these four professions. In a college where nine out of ten men were to follow the learned professions, the emphasis on literary expression, philosophy, theology, and principles of law was admirably adapted to a world keenly interested in those subjects and in the type of men who could expound them. At Yale during the same period, 1797–1819, the percentage going into

law, ministry and medicine is similar, with a smaller proportion becoming teachers. Over 80% entered the four learned professions at Yale.

The training was not chiefly for the ministry; less than a third became ministers. The education was as excellent for lawyers, teachers and public men as for ministers. Professor Dixon's statistics in the *Yale Review* for May, 1901, show that during the first 125 years at Dartmouth only 19% became ministers, 30.7% lawyers. The ministers were in a minority in every decade; and fewer than the lawyers after 1790. The Dartmouth of Webster and Choate did have the passion for public service in state as well as church so characteristic of Puritans and Calvinists of whom Eleazar Wheelock was so confessedly an example. Webster and Choate had a large amount of this and other Puritan traits, as the investigator will be surprised to learn from a careful study of their orations, letters and personal characteristics.

Webster's training in writing and speaking we learn from four sources: the regulations of 1796; his own statements; seventeen printed orations or compositions; the records of his literary society. In accordance with the laws of 1796, Webster and Choate would have been obliged to "declaim before the officers in the chapel on Wednesday" and in Senior year to engage in a "forensic disputation" in chapel before both students and faculty, the "Wednesday rhetoricals," which were endured for a century.

The only known example of Webster's college "compositions," about 500 words, written in his Sophomore year, advocates on clearly reasoned grounds the acquisition of Florida, twenty-one years before the event. In thirteen articles printed in the village paper, *The Dartmouth Gazette*, his Junior Year, the ponderous rhetoric of the eighteenth century and the eighteen-year-old boy is relieved by occasional flashes of imagination. "On swiftest pinions cut their downward course," and "when giddy sea boys on the tottering masts" are perhaps echoes of Milton and Shakespeare; but

they are at least arresting echoes. Appropriately signed "Icarus," his verses reveal a country lad's appreciation of wind-swept mountain and sea, the latter likely seen at Hampton after the habit of Exeter boys. The following lines give Webster's boyish foretaste of a Dartmouth Outing Cabin, with ski-runners at Thanksgiving dinner.

> "in tranquil peace,
> And joyful plenty, pass the winter's eve.
> Around the social fire, content and free,
> Thy sons shall taste the sweets Pomona gives,
> Or else in transport tread the mountain snow,
> Or leap the craggy cliff, robust and strong."

The "sweets Pomona gives" is eighteenth-century rhetoric for Whittier's:

> "The mug of cider simmered slow,
> The apples sputtered in a row."

The whole passage from "Snow Bound" suggests Webster in his Sophomore and Junior winter vacation,—"the master of the district school," from "Classic Dartmouth's college halls," "large brained, clear-eyed," "born the wild Northern hills among, from whence his yeoman father wrung by patient toil subsistence scant."

The Junior year Fourth of July oration has touches of that strong national spirit and reverence for constitution and union that foreshadow the Reply to Hayne in 1830, and the Seventh of March speech, 1850. The criticism of "emptiness" in parts of the oration Webster himself recognized as just; and set himself to remedy this by a study of English authors—"particularly Addison—with great care."

A distinct improvement appears in his graduation "Oration on the Influence and Instability of Opinion" before the United Fraternity, not printed from the manuscript until 1903, and apparently unknown to Professor Richardson. The dangerous tendency to rest decisions upon opinion and

prejudice is attacked with an insight sadly prophetic in this college boy of nineteen condemning "the turmoil of passion and prejudice," and propaganda methods like those employed by his embittered political opponents in 1850. Webster in 1801, saw the dangers in "impatience of enquiry" and "blind obsequiousness to received opinion, taking things at second hand and admitting them to a creed without care or examination." He advocated "a free candid spirit of enquiry, a determination to appeal to self-judgment," to arrive at "Principles" based upon investigation, after the manner of Locke and Newton. Choate, examining the manuscript, was struck with its "copiousness, judgement and enthusiasm," a happy description of Webster's college writing. Choate's discriminating analysis of Webster's reading and thinking reveals the college boy's eager study of "how to get at truth": "The science of proof which is logic; the facts of history, the spirit of laws." Webster's criticism of this "sufficiently boyish performance" and his other college writing reveal both his ambition and the secret of his mastery of style. "I had not then learned that all true power in writing is in the idea, not in the style, an error into which the *Ars Rhetorica*, as it is usually taught, may easily lead stronger heads than mine." To correct himself, he not only read "with great care," but also taught himself to think and speak simply. "I remembered that I had my bread to earn by addressing the understanding of common men—by convincing juries—and that I must use language perfectly intelligible to them." "That is the secret of my style, *if I have any*."

On Webster's social and economic life new light is shed by his college and store bills. Contrary to traditions that he roomed in the Farrars' house on South Main Street his first two years, and in Dartmouth Hall his Senior year, the Treasurer's accounts prove he roomed in a college dormitory for the first three years, and in Senior year occupied a room outside of College. That he roomed in a private house Senior year is confirmed by his letter to Bingham, Dec. 29, 1800.

This first-hand evidence eliminates unsubstantiated traditions, and strengthens the case for Webster's rooming at the Webster cottage, North Main Street and Webster Avenue. The evidence for this rests not merely upon unbroken and uncontradicted traditions, but upon the contemporary record of the careful William Dewey, repeated within the house itself to another cautious witness Miss McMurphy, and written down by her later.

Webster paid a total college bill of $88.34 for three years' room-rent, four years' tuition and incidentals, interest, and Commencement tax. Choate paid only $20.58 before graduation, the college accepting his note for $84.12. No wonder there were those who loved her! Long delayed payments, only settled on the eve of graduation, were the rule. For twenty-five months Webster paid nothing; then, Junior Year, $18.40, earned teaching school at six dollars a month in Salisbury. His board he paid by writing for the *Dartmouth Gazette;* his other expenses by borrowing $26.99 from Lang, storekeeper and money lender. His room rent averaged $4.09 a year. With board at College Commons one dollar a week, this makes $59.89 for tuition, room, and board. For all items save the loan, Webster paid Lang $43.36, a total known expense Junior Year of $103.25. $100.00 would, "on a decent economic plan," cover annual expenses "including board, tuition, room, wood and contingents," wrote John Wheelock, 1800. $125 was the estimate of Dr. Horatio Newhall, who attended Commencement 1819, when Choate graduated.

Getting into debt, Webster's one bad habit, was characteristic of the college and a period without ready money. Students were almost without exception seriously in debt to the college, owing her $5,700 in 1815; and one at least went through without paying a dollar in actual money. The college itself was never out of debt, and annually ran from 10 per cent to 30 per cent in excess of its income. In 1814 it owed on notes and salaries $7,436; at the close of the College

Case nearly double that amount. Even in Webster's day the meagre salaries could not be met. During 1797–1801, the college annually fell short on its salary list $250, and actually paid only $1906.00 on an average for its total annual salaries for teaching and administration. John Wheelock, President and Professor of Civil and Ecclesiastical History (who taught the Senior Class, including Webster, "Natural and Political Law"), received $767; John Smith, Professor of Ancient Languages, Pastor of the College Church, and Librarian, $551 for this triple threat; Bezaleel Woodward, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and Treasurer, $400; Roswell Shurtleff, Tutor, $234. Four men constituted the entire teaching and administrative staff of the college in Webster's day; five in Choate's time, not including part-time instruction in Chemistry given by a Medical College Lecturer.

The charges to Webster in the "Student Accounts" at Richard Lang's store, supplementing the direct testimony of eyewitnesses, enable us to visualize the eighteen-year-old boy in his "chamber," with its hanging of "7 yds. chintz 5s. 6d."; sitting at his desk, his swarthy face thrown into relief by the dim light flickering from "candle stick ¾" flanked by "snuffers 2/6"; and with ink made by himself from "ink-powder 9d"; writing on the many quires of paper and with one of the hundred quill pens bought his Junior year; so absorbed in his work that he pays no heed to the sheets of paper blowing past the waving chintz and out of the window, until he ceases writing and passes from the room to deliver his oration. On Sunday, with his "Salmbook 4/6" under his arm, Black Dan is taken for an Indian by the Deweys as he passes down the aisle of the meeting house. In his Junior year, such items as "best laced clock'd cotton hose 15/6" ($2.59), good broadcloth and expensive gloves give hints of the happy social life in "the charming village" with classma tes and their sisters and cousins, and "Mary la bonne," Professor Woodward's daughter, "lovely as Heaven, but harder to obtain."

The store accounts and letters reveal a frank, warm-hearted, sunny, lovable boy, fond of books and friends. They save one from overemphasizing the more serious side portrayed in the later reminiscences. Webster was a wholesome college boy of fifteen to nineteen, a keen student given to rapid and concentrated reading and "close thought," brilliant at both writing and speaking, an acknowledged leader, fond of the best literature, but also keenly interested in newspapers, politics, politicians, good talk and a game of "Nap," and with a zest for "fishing, shooting and riding." The two sides of Webster's college career are suggested in a classmate's testimony to "the generous and delightful spirit he showed among his earliest friends" and his "faculties which left all rivalship far behind him," "*when the first* year was passed."[1] The debt to Dartmouth of the shy, awkward, sensitive, farmer's boy, is suggested by the steady growth in both intellectual and social powers, amply witnessed by himself and his contemporaries. There is no question of bad habits, nothing to conceal about Webster. In the matter of liquor, he conformed to the custom of the best people of his day, purchasing in moderation just the average amount bought by other students, astonishingly small as compared to his austere President John Wheelock who bought more in a month than Webster in a year. Even his caustic classmate Loveland found ambition Webster's only fault or weakness in college.

His fellow members who knew him intimately, especially in his debating society, wrote: "The powers of his mind were remarkably displayed by the compass and force of his arguments in extemporaneous debates." "His orations in the society and occasional written exercises, all showed the marks of great genius and great familiarity with history and politics for one of his years." Half a dozen addresses or ora-

[1] Cited by George Ticknor, "Remarks on the Life and writings of Daniel Webster," reprinted (with additions) from *American Quarterly Review*, 1831. Published anonymously, not assigned to Ticknor in Dartmouth library catalogue, and apparently (like Professor Felton's article in 1852 *Review*) not used by Professor Richardson.

tions (one of which received the somewhat unusual distinction of a "vote to reposite in the annals of the United Fraternity an oration delivered by Junior Webster," and another the piace of honor as the Commencement oration of his fraternity) show a remarkable progress from his experience at Exeter, where he was never able to rise from his seat to speak the many pieces he committed to memory. Webster was honored with half a dozen offices as "Inspector of Books," "Librarian," "Dialoginian to write a dialogue for exhibition at the next Commencement," "Orator," "Vice-president," and "President."

The records of the weekly debates, in which Webster took active part, reveal undergraduates' views of questions of their day. "Would it be advisable for students while at college to read Dr. Hopkins System of Divinity? No." Six months later, with undergraduate inconsistency, they returned thanks for a copy of Dr. Hopkins' book—very likely in each case without reading it. "Are great riches conducive to happiness? No." "The spendthrift is more advantageous to the public than the miser." "Marriage is conducive to happiness." "Which is the more suitable for a wife, a widow or an old maid? The wdo." "Is familiar intercourse between the sexes favorable to virtue? Ans. Conditional." With equally wise caution they answered to the further query: "Ought separate schools to be provided for the education of different sexes? Ans. Conditional." As to curriculum and "activities" they reached these sage conclusions. December 5, 1797, they manifested their interest in chemistry (just introduced by Dr. Nathan Smith) by this debate. "Is it beneficial for students to attend chemical lectures while in college? Yes." "It would be as advantageous for students of this institution to study the French language as the Greek." "Scholars should attend as much to ancient as modern writing." "Spending our time in frequent company is not beneficial to student at College." "Gambling is not justifiable." "A college education is conducive to happiness." "Students

should not neglect their classical studies for the purpose of reading history," a decision doubly sound because of the evil of neglect, and because of the type of history available when Rollin's *Ancient History* was the college best-seller. To the question, "Is the study of the Latin language preferable to Greek?" there is, alas, no answer recorded. To the query, "Would it be profitable for students to attend to learning the art of dancing," they cautiously answered, "Conditional." The decisions reflect the spirit of their time in opposition to France, slavery, sumptuary laws; and in support of foreign immigration, capital punishment, and in general of rather a strict view of moral questions. No discussion of drinking has been noted, or of religion save the negative decisions regarding desirability of reading "Dr. Hopkins system of Divinity," or of "discussion of theological questions in the United Fraternity." These wise young Daniels came to one judgment which combined sanity and humor. "Does eloquence tend to the investigation of truth? No."

Membership in the debating societies was so general that the opportunities for training in writing and speaking were open to practically all who desired them. There were the inevitable rivalries between the two societies in their "fishing" for candidates. In Choate's day and thereafter, the whole class was assigned to one or the other society according to odd or even places of the names as they occurred in the alphabetical list of the class.

Choate, like Webster, was a very active and especially trusted officer in his society. As Librarian and member of the "Committee of Safety," he received a vote of thanks for his timely removal of the Social Friends' library to his own room, and his share in successfully resisting the attempt of the Professors of the rival "Dartmouth University" to seize it, in 1817. Rufus Choate's first recorded appearance in court was not as advocate but as defendant, arrested on charge of "riot," when he was bound over to the Grand Jury which wisely declined to indict either "University" professors or

"College" students. There was something challenging about the courage and resourcefulness in President Brown, the faculty and students of the College during this fight for existence. It is characteristic of the time which bred eighteen college presidents and twenty-eight professors that Choate in this most trying and discouraging year when the state courts decided against the college, wrote home: "The situation I most envy is that of a Professor in a College." Three days later, this scholarly but riotous Sophomore was arrested for "thronging" the professors.

Of Choate as a presiding officer, Chief Justice Perley, then a Freshman, records his admiration and adds, "Mr. Choate was required as president, by the rules of the Society, to give his decision upon the question, whether ancient or modern poetry had the superiority." "The decision on the Contemporaneous (*sic*) question by the President did honor to his station and himself," is the confirmatory record of the Secretary. Choate decided in favor of the ancients. The records of fines, excuses for absences, "thin meetings," and postponed debates in Choate's day show characteristics of undergraduates of all times. The prize alibi-artists of 1818 gave this excuse for absence from debate: "the Junior Class being very much engaged in eclipsing the sun and moon." The seriousness of the better men is illustrated by Choate's younger brother, Washington, whose unpublished letter speaks of spending three or four days writing "A defense of Systematic Study" for his Society debate.

Webster's keenest interest in college lay in history, English literature and composition. He also kept himself posted upon political affairs, read the newspapers, and did a good deal of general reading including philosophy. Greek and Latin he studied for at least three years in college, taught after graduation, and pursued with zest to the end of his life. In mathematics, Webster got what one of the best students in college would gain from three years of Arith-

metic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Surveying, and Mensuration of heights and distances.

There is nothing to substantiate Lodge's false portrait of "the indolent Webster," not a fine scholar, who lacked "zeal for learning," "knew no Greek," had "less than a smattering of mathematics." Lodge, violating the evidence he nominally cites, copies here as elsewhere the partisan and unreliable Parton, and reproduces the bitterness and inaccuracy of the political enemies of Webster in 1850. The testimony of Webster's fellow students (to which Lodge refers) contradicts the unreliable biography and confirms other evidence that the lack of fine scholarship and zeal for learning is not in Webster but in Lodge.

His college mates repeatedly and uniformly recorded their recognition of Webster as "our ablest man," "the best all-around mind"; and recognized the high degree of his intellectual power and performance as shown not only in college leadership and debating, but also in writing and in classroom. With consistency and some definiteness eleven class and college mates (corroborated by as many more of his later scholarly friends, like Ticknor, Choate, Felton, Everett) witness to Webster as being "peculiarly industrious," working with great intensity and rapidity, and remembering accurately so that in place of spending three or four hours on a text-book, "as was the case with most of us," he would "procure other books on the same subject for further examination and spend hours in close *thought*, either in his room or in his walk, which would enlarge his views, and might at the same time, with some, give him the character of not being a close student." There is unconscious irony in this testimony of Bingham, his Exeter classmate and Dartmouth room-mate, as to the inability of a certain type of mind to recognize the scholarly quality involved in "close *thought*." John Whipple of Providence says Webster told him he "had trained his mind as he would his body to accustom itself to greater tasks, but not to overload it; to work

at his utmost and then recreate. Into any mental occupation he put all his power, and when mental vision began to be obscured, he ceased entirely and resorted to amusement." "When a half hour or an hour at most, had elapsed, I closed my book and thought over what I had read"; "so much as I read I made my own," these were Webster's own descriptions of his college method of work. One other habit he confessed was of being very careful to stop talking at the point where his knowledge ceased. "Mr. Webster was remarkable for his steady habits, his intense application to study, and his punctual attendance upon the prescribed exercises," said Roswell Shurtleff who as both fellow student and tutor had double opportunity to judge him.

Webster's statement, "I have worked for more than twelve hours a day for fifty years on an average" (made to Professor Sanborn in 1846) would cover both Exeter and Dartmouth student days. Without undue reliance upon this sweeping generalization, Webster's habits of long, hard, daily work are confirmed by the amount accomplished, the ample testimony to his early rising, late working, and the college habits of his day,—with chapel at daylight, and three or four hours devoted to a lesson by "most of us," according to Bingham. "My college life was not an idle one. What fools they must be to suppose that anybody could succeed in college or public life without study." Such statements of Webster, amply corroborated, relegate the legend that he "did not study much in college" to the limbo of false and long discredited legends like that of his tearing up of his diploma, both alike contradicted by Webster and contemporaries, and entirely unsupported by evidence.

The following results seem in part at least attributable to the college training of Webster and Choate; recognition of gaps in their knowledge; widening intellectual interests; abiding satisfaction in quenching their thirst for learning; appreciation of the finer things in literature and life; power of clear thought and speech; habits of hard, concentrated

work. The lack of work in natural science was partly recognized and met by work in the Medical School founded during Webster's undergraduate days and markedly stimulating under the lead of two great pioneer teachers, Nathan Smith and Lyman Spaulding. Webster was one of 18 men in his class of 32 in Junior Year to register in the Medical School. Choate one of 25 in a class of the same number to register during Junior or Senior year. Whether they heard lectures in chemistry or general medical subjects there is no convincing evidence available.

In 1816, Webster recognized that "the manner and system of education in this State are necessarily much confined"; but added in his frank letters of advice to his nephew Haddock, "after all, progress in knowledge depends less frequently on the opportunities enjoyed than on the use made of them." What Webster meant by such use, he points out by counselling Haddock (then a divinity student at Andover) not to go back to Latin grammar, but "to read the whole of Cicero and Livy and Quintilian, and the other great writers." "Latin should be learned for the sake of the good things which are in Latin. It is folly to learn a language and then make no use of it." So Webster and the two Choates, while apparently lacking courses formally labelled history, utilized for historical purposes their classics and courses in law and government. Directly after graduation, while studying law, Webster read Cæsar, Sallust, Cicero, and Juvenal; went through Saunders Reports; "and put into English out of Latin and Norman French, the pleadings in all his reports." Both Webster and Choate to the end of their lives (even as Senators in Washington) read and delighted in the classics constantly and used them as instruments for training in thought and speech.

In 1814, Webster had written Haddock his appreciation of the relation between Geography and History, incidentally commenting on the curriculum and its interest during his own sophomore year. "You are now, I think, in your Sopho-

more Year. I recollect that year was an interesting one to me from the studies that belonged to it. I suppose the course of studies is since that time a good deal altered; but it was then Geography, Logic, Mathematics. etc. As we had been before confined altogether to Latin and Greek, the other pursuits in addition to their importance possessed the charm of novelty. Geography especially is an interesting study. It is an indispensable preliminary to history." "I would advise you never to read the history of any country, till you have studied its geography." "You must have before you maps of the country." Webster's historical sense he further developed "at an early period of life" by recourse to two "sources of information," the English statutes, and the proceedings of the law courts. "I acquainted myself with the object and purpose and substance of every public statute in British Legislation," "not so much for professional purposes as for the elucidation of the progress of society." "We want a history of firesides," was his felicitous description of the social history which we still lack. His address on "The Dignity and Importance of History," confirmed as it is by the competent testimony of Professor Felton of Harvard, shows Webster continuing through life, like Choate, college habits of getting history from the sources.

What Rufus Choate got out of his undergraduate days was told in his delightful way in an intimate letter to his son then in college. "My college life was so exquisitely happy that I should like to relive it in my son. The studies of Latin and Greek,—Livy, Horace, Tacitus, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Thucydides—had ever a charm beyond expression, and the first opening of our great English authors, Milton, Addison, Johnson, and the great writers for the reviews made that time of my life a brief, sweet dream. They created tastes and supplied sources of enjoyment, which support me to this hour." Dr. Boyden of Beverley, a classmate, says of Choate: "Before the end of the first term he was the acknowledged leader of the class and he maintained that posi-

tion until graduation without apparent difficulty, no one pretended to rival him." "His talk was of eminent scholars of other countries and of former times and they seemed the object of his emulation." "When sport was over he turned to his studies with avidity."

Choate's extraordinary power to win devotion for himself and the things he loved made him an inspiring teacher. Professor Brown's statement that Choate's year as tutor was "one all sunshine" is especially felicitous in view of the fact that Helen Olcott was part of the sunshine. Admiration for Choate's ability increases as one realizes that he not only led his class but also found time to win the most charming girl in town.

Four colonial buildings fortunately still remain as a visible framework for Webster's and Choate's college life. In the Eleazar Wheelock Mansion house of 1773 (now the Howe Library), Webster would have "made his bow" to John Wheelock and been admitted to college. In the Webster cottage on North Main Street built 1780 he roomed his Senior year. In the Olcott house (built by Professor Ripley, 1787) Webster passed his first night in college; and here Choate wooed and wedded Helen Olcott. Like Helen, the house has now changed its name to "Choate." In the adjoining "College Church" of 1795 (of which all professors and many tutors were members to 1819), Webster and Choate both received their degrees; Choate pronounced his valedictory at the Commencement of 1819, attended by Webster; and in 1853 delivered his Eulogy (in Everett's judgment, unequalled in America) worthy of Webster and himself and their romantic "friendship of scholars." These two simple white structures, typical of the time and taste of Webster and Choate and the colonial college, have together probably sheltered more famous men than any other adjoining buildings in New England. With Webster Hall flanking the other corner, they furnish unique and inspiring approach to a new library.

What students read in the old library in Dartmouth Hall is a fascinating study. The book most frequently drawn during 1774 to 1777 when the records are available, was Rollin's *Ancient History* (which Webster read as a Sophomore), charged on the librarian's records no fewer than 92 times in three years, with Pope's *Works* 44, and Locke, *Human Understanding*, 32 times. The other books, in order of frequency of drawing by students, were: *The Fool of Quality;* Witsius' *Economy;* Baxter, various titles; Martin's *Philosophy;* Edwards on the *Will;* Ward's *Mathematics;* Watt's *Logic;* Addison; *Pilgrim's Progress;* Locke's *Government;* Holmes' *Rhetoric;* Butler's *Analogy*. *Robinson Crusoe* was drawn only three times. Unfortunately there is for Webster's day no record of books drawn from the library. The college does possess three sources of information: the manuscript list of books in the library 1775; the books which came from Eleazar Wheelock to the library after his death in 1779; and a list of purchases from 1793 to 1820. This enables us to know some of the books available to Webster and Choate; though these lists do not cover purchases between 1779 and 1793, or the two Society libraries of Webster's time, both available to him. These three libraries contained between 3,000 and 4,000 volumes in Webster's day, as nearly as may now be estimated from books actually bought annually and the number when the first catalogues were printed in 1810 and 1812. Samuel Smith of 1800 remembered the "library" as containing about 4,000 volumes. In Choate's time the college library possessed about 4,000 volumes; the two societies about the same number; in all, about twice the number available when Webster was in college.

Webster's letters show him "dozing over a musty volume of Rollin's" [*Ancient History*], Sophomore year; and during Junior year reading Mallett du Pan's *History of the Destruction of the Helvetic Union*, and keeping up his interest in Napoleon. Fond of books from childhood; always familiar with the Bible; getting the *Spectator* and Addison from a

small circulating library; having access to so few books that he "thought they were all to be got by heart," he could repeat the greater part of Watts's *Psalms and Hymns*, and Pope's *Essay on Man* "from beginning to end." His early habit of swift concentrated reading is illustrated by his statement that *Don Quixote* he "read through at a sitting without laying the book down for five minutes." The year following graduation, while teaching school at Fryeburg and copying deeds to help Zeke pay his college bills, Webster read John Adams' defence of the American Constitutions, Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Goldsmith's *History of England*, Blackstone's commentaries, Pope's works, the *Spectator* and *Tatler*. For the next two years, "my principal occupation with books, when not law books, was with the Latin classics." The "indolent" Webster also found time to learn French and make use of this and his Latin as tools in legal history; and to read "Ward's *Law of Nations*, Lord Bacon's *Elements*, Puffendorf's *Latin History of England*, Gifford's *Juvenal*, Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, Moore's *Travels*, and many other miscellaneous things," besides reading Hume, and Vattel's *Law of Nations*. Webster's college habit of wide and thoughtful reading and long hours of work he carried through life.

During the decade 1790 to 1800, in which fell Webster's undergraduate days, Dartmouth was graduating 36 men annually, a larger number than any other American college save Harvard. The average number of undergraduates in the Dartmouth of Webster and Choate was 141.

The curriculum shows marked similarity to that of Harvard, in the "Laws of Harvard College" for 1814, 1816, and in the catalogues of 1819 and 1820. Limited as the curriculum was, especially in natural and social sciences, the course and method of study in combination with the other conditions then prevailing had certain admirable features likely to develop native ability.

The students really cared for an education, and had defi-

nitely prepared for it. They had to face an entrance examination conducted by professors who were to test them and teach them in college. Continuity for six to eight years was secured by continuing in college the four subjects of the preparatory school; Greek, Latin, and Mathematics for three or four years, and English throughout the college course. A student therefore had to get his present work in order to go on with his future. He looked forward to some degree of mastery of subjects studied through both school and college. He could not pick and choose, and when he found he could not do one soft thing find another softer. The vice of smattering and scattering would seem to have been largely avoided, especially in Greek, Latin and Mathematics, where a considerable degree of accuracy and precision would have been called for in Choate's senior year, his tenth in the study of Latin. The sound principle of application was apparently sought through mensuration, surveying, navigation; and a taste of natural science through physics and astronomy, and chemistry in Medical School or college. That Dartmouth somehow not only led men to the fountain of knowledge but also gave them intellectual thirst and the power to satisfy it, is suggested by Webster's growing interest in natural science. From his interest in geography in connection with history, he went on to a keen attention to physical geography. On his voyage to England he learned to take observations. Geology he studied somewhat carefully on his journeys; and had specimens arranged in strata to visualize the order of nature about which he was reading. Felton adds that he read and meditated on Humboldt's *Cosmos*, and that "with ichthyology he had not merely a sporting, but a scientific acquaintance."

Webster's and Choate's precision of thought and beauty of speech were aided by their lifelong, discriminating reading of the world's masters. No one can read their private letters, and public speeches without recognizing men who see realities hitherto unseen, and then reveal their vision in words of

artistic precision. Webster was a poet in politics in this sense. He created in men's minds the vision of things that were not yet but had to be. The young men of the Civil War tell us they volunteered with his words on their lips, familiar but sacred as those of the Psalmist; and that on lonely sentry duty in seceding states they paced back and forth repeating: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." The flash of insight which, from the drum-beat on the ramparts at Quebec, caught the vision of unbroken world empire, Webster revealed to others in his picture of the British Empire: "A power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England." Choate's power of voicing what he saw is illustrated in his characterization of the ruthlessness of John Quincy Adams. "He has withal, an instinct for the jugular and the carotid artery as unerring as that of any carnivorous animal." Such men not only appreciate beauty; they create it.

With growing critical sense, Webster and Choate pursued their reading of Milton, Addison and the ancient classics, from college to the end of life. Choate planned a translation of Demosthenes' *On the Crown;* Webster of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum.* "Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Livy, Sallust and Tacitus were his (Webster's) frequent companions, and constituted the solace and delight of his leisure from official employment. He read their works not only with a profound understanding of their aims and scope, but with a delicate discrimination of their manner and style. Shakespeare, Milton and Gray were household words." "With rare felicity of judgment and exquisite delicacy of taste, he discriminated the minutest shades of beauty in the structure of their sentences, and the choice and arrangement of their words." This testimony of Webster's intimate friend, the scholarly Felton, Professor of Greek at Harvard, is supplemented by

the illuminating pages in Choate's Eulogy devoted to Webster's college life, and by Webster's delight in the ancient and modern classics, in Locke, the philosophers and historians. "These were the strong meat that announced and began to train the great political thinker and reasoner of a later day." Choate's own classical training and scholarship were even better than Webster's; and his letters and journals witness his daily delight in the classics and his discriminating use of them in his training in expression.

Three unpublished letters of Rufus Choate's younger brother, Washington, reveal the intellectual tastes of a Freshman and Sophomore in 1820. Ridiculing the superficiality of the study of modern language where men learn a little grammar and a few hundred words but never the language, he says: "There is in brevity and in truth no such thing as a translation." What he felt worth while was to read and understand "the works of the immortal poets, orators, historians, and philosophers of England, Greece and Rome." In response to his brother Rufus' criticism that he had been reading poetry too rapidly, this Sophomore of 1820 says he had, in the "first four and one-half weeks of his sophomore year, read only Terence, Plautus, four comedies, Catullus and some 30 or 40 pages of Ovid. All I have read in this time might be put in three twelve mo. vols." Not only had he read these authors, but he wrote critically of their plots, characters and style, incidentally remarking "that he had never laughed so loudly or long over any book since reading Don Quixote as he did over Amphitryon." Millot's *History of Rome* and St. Real in French he was reading "from the 3 o'clock recitation till prayers." "For English books I have Alison (on Taste), Taylor's Sermons, Boetius, Tales—etc." "I shall read, if I have time before I go home, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, and then I think, though out of course, *Brutus*, *De Amicitia*, and *De Senectute*, and carry home some other of Cicero's philosophical works." "Schlegel I have read with attention and have now about me Spencer's

and Coleridge's Biography, Literary, and Edinburgh, and Quarterly Reviews. The Edinburgh review of Schlegel is I think among the best I ever read and has given me after repeatedly and most carefully perusing it, a clearer view of the distinction between the romantic than I could ever obtain before. The Quarterly Review of it is good for nothing."

The references to Schlegel and Coleridge are of singular interest, for they connect Choate and Dartmouth with the profound scholar and teacher, James Marsh, who helped to introduce Coleridge to Emerson and the Transcendentalists of America. Marsh was on somewhat intimate terms with the Choates; for two years tutor of Washington, and for three years fellow student or fellow tutor with Rufus, with whom he kept up later friendship and correspondence. Now it was in just these years at Dartmouth with the Choates that Marsh began his revolt from the old system of philosophy to that of Coleridge whom he later edited and whose ideas he embodied in the reorganized curriculum of the University of Vermont of which he was President. His educational ideas spread thence to the middle west. A scholar who profoundly affected American philosophy and education, Marsh was one of the nine college presidents bred in the challenging days of Rufus Choate's undergraduate life.

Good taste in literature may well have been aided also by the work in rhetoric, and the Belles Lettres. The evident lack of a provision in the curriculum for the English classics seems to have been made up by students in their reading, if one may judge from letters during and after college and by the books in the college library, and those selected for their own literary societies and purchased by themselves, several hundred annually with their own hard-earned money. With few books and few distractions, students read with care real masterpieces of thinking and expression, and themselves thought, talked and wrote about what they read. Clear thought and plain speech were likely to be developed through four years' continuous training in writing and speaking, with

college required work supplemented by voluntary tasks in the weekly meetings of the literary societies. Common interest in the same intellectual things and common ground for debates were made possible by the fact that the same work was done by all the men in every class.

It must be admitted that students who had little interest in literature, mathematics, philosophy, or law, found the work irksome. "By the time one lesson is got another rises up before you which will take away all one's appetite for play, idleness, or any other amusement." This lament in the diary of Freshman Smith, contemporary of Washington Choate, closes with a bed-time philosophy worthy of Samuel Pepys. "William Clark says that we are enjoying ourselves now the best of any time in life—forgive him I pray this sin for can it be that this is our best days O no surely not go to bed 10—."

The course tended to discourage youth from coming to college for social rather than intellectual purposes. Modern education in dealing with this type has trusted too much to purgatives, and failed to keep pace with progress in preventive medicine. Whatever the reason, continuity was a characteristic of the undergraduate as much as of the curriculum, under which actually a larger number graduated than had entered. In the Sophomore year there was an average gain of ten, offset by a loss of only five during Junior and Senior years. The average class entered 29 men and graduated 34, a net *gain* of nearly 20 per cent, as contrasted with a modern *loss* of over 40 per cent between freshman year and graduation. Moreover, in the average class of 34 graduates, 31 continued in some form of professional study. There was, furthermore, an unusually large proportion of graduates (over one-fifth) who achieved distinction.

The college of 141 students and four or five college officers constitute a challenge to trustees, faculty, alumni and 2,000 undergraduates of the "Liberal College" of a jazz and prohibition era.

Doubtless the inescapable entrance and curriculum requirements facing Webster and Choate would not do for the modern more delicately nurtured and financially better prepared "undergraduate." The student who thinks it "democratic" to call Dartmouth a "school," his carnival guest "the woman," and with quite unintended humor says he comes to college, "because I was not and am not ready to go to work," could not and would not meet the requirements of 1796–1817. Even more than the present-day 40 per cent would fall by the wayside, exhausted by the continuous strain of accurate first-hand knowledge and "close thought" demanded by continuous and cumulative work in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Philosophy, Theology, and Law. The problem before us is not one of imitation; but whether out of our own educational development we have gained enough clear thinking and creative power to construct both an ideal and a practical curriculum for students of all kinds of previous conditions of servitude from over a thousand schools, from intellectual byways (without hedges) all over the land. Can this well-behaved, externally well-equipped, courteous, lovable modern youth, socially sophisticated and intellectually naïve, conscious of the limitations of his elders, be awakened to his own? Can his oft-times medieval lack of intellectual curiosity and readiness to accept second-hand information, his "mark-chasing" in college, and aim of "selling" something after college be replaced by the finer ideals dormant within him? How shall we attract poor boys, and sons of farmers, ministers and mechanics (whom Professor Woods has shown so desirable) and not be overbalanced by the wealthy?

Can we develop, not a curriculum of 1796, but one that will fit the needs of to-day with something which will give continuity, clarity of thought and speech, love of beauty which is itself a beatitude, satisfaction with only the best, and dissatisfaction with the lower levels of life, some abiding interest in literature, some sources of permanent enjoy-

ment, some power to be of use to the commonwealth? Can the spark hidden within essentially high-minded youth be warmed into a flame that shall light them to the joyous adventure of life, as went of old the men of the renaissance, the "gentlemen adventurers," the pioneers, to discover the unknown, achieve the hitherto impossible, do something better than it has been done before? This would be an adventure in education worthy alike of the pioneer spirit of Eleazar Wheelock, founder, and President Francis Brown and Daniel Webster, refounders of Dartmouth.

The longer and more closely one studies the college of a given period, the less inclined he is to account for its greatness on the basis of a single factor, or even to assign with precision the relative importance of curriculum, college life, teachers, or students. It was the happy combination of excellence in all these that produced the result. The balance between intellectual and social "activities" finds felicitous expression in Choate's two descriptions of his college life: "studies which created tastes and supplied sources of enjoyment which support me to this hour"; "the friendships of scholars, grown out of a unanimity of high and honorable pursuits." Fraternities, religion, recreations, earning money through school-teaching, reinforced rather than weakened intellectual life. The well-vertebrated curriculum with its continuity, and training in clear thought and plain speech was suited to the type of students,—ambitious, aiming at professional and public life, attracted by the same sort of work they had done in preparation, courageous enough to face a test in it before entering.

"Short commons and industrious habits of study with hardworking teachers laid firm foundations." "Ripe teachers made ripe pupils." Such were the ripened conclusions of Nathan Crosby as to the college of Choate's day and its faculty,—President Brown, Roswell Shurtleff, Ebenezer Adams, James Marsh, Rufus Choate. These teachers and those of Webster's day, were deservedly appreciated for their

"amiability," hard work and devotion. Besides brains and scholarship, all these men had more training than appears at first sight. In the backbone of the curriculum, the classics, they had received eight, or in Choate's case, ten years' training. Some hard-earned wisdom most of them had gained in winter school teaching. All had to supplement college education by some graduate experience or training. Not one of the thirty-four teachers from 1770 to 1819 entered upon college teaching directly upon graduation. Every one had been out of college at least one year, the majority two or more years, teaching, or studying divinity, medicine, or law. Bailey, tutor of Choate, had studied divinity, and read law with Webster. Seven had taught under the President's observation in the Indian School, not a bad preparation for teaching Dartmouth undergraduates of that or much later days! Seven studied divinity under members of the Dartmouth faculty. Four years was the average period of ripening between graduation and college teaching. Of Webster's teachers, each of the permanent staff had taught a score of years. Wheelock had served in the Legislature and as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Revolution, and was deservedly commended for his wisdom in selection of teachers. Smith was trained in divinity, experienced as pastor, the author of classical text-books, a scholar of repute, recipient of honorary degrees from Harvard, Yale, and Brown. Bezaleel Woodward had been trained in divinity, was an acceptable preacher and Elder, versatile political leader, prominent in the Revolution, a useful county judge, active in all town and church affairs and treasurer and (like Wheelock and Smith) a trustee.

The fact that two-thirds of the teachers under the curriculum during the first half-century of the college studied divinity suggests both a type of work and a type of men. The work included not merely added training in ancient languages, but also in writing and in power of human approach and appeal. It was the best kind of graduate work

then available and supplied something often lacking to-day in graduate training and college teaching,—a combination of sound scholarship with devotion and sense of pastoral care. It was utilized to advantage by the type of teacher who saw in teaching the cure of souls as well as the care of minds. The genuine and attractive Christian character of teachers who recognized the spiritual element in scholarship was likely to kindle similar qualities of loyalty, devotion, courage, hard work and human helpfulness in their students. The fundamental purpose of the college, "civilizing and Christianizing," was an essential element. No analysis of the causes of the loyalty and success of the first half century is adequate which fails to recognize the power of this religious element.

As to the type of men bred under the curriculum of Webster and Choate's day there are some rather striking evidences. Among the graduates under the 1796 curriculum, at least one in five may be said to have attained distinction. Distinction is evidently not a thing to be measured by a yardstick or with scientific precision, for there are too many imponderable elements. The work of many a country pastor or teacher deserves distinction which it never receives. On the other hand it might fairly be questioned whether a college professorship is a mark of distinction. In such cases it might be safer to follow the practice of Webster's debating society, and put down: "Answer. Conditional." Taking figures for what they may be worth, we find among the 877 graduates in the classes from 1797 to 1822 the following: One justice of the Supreme Court; three cabinet officers; seven United States Senators; eight Governors; twelve Judges of State Supreme Courts; nineteen members of Congress; seventeen College Presidents; twenty-nine college Professors; eighty-five recipients of honorary degrees of D.D. or LL.D. After compiling this list of somewhat obvious distinctions, with its evident incompleteness and probable inaccuracies, the writer turned to the summary in Chap-

man's invaluable *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College*, and found the basis of distinction there almost identical. For purposes of comparison with other periods of the College the figures may be of some use, until some better basis and more exhaustive research are available. A comparison made by the writer shows a larger percentage of men of the enumerated kinds of distinction under the old curriculum, than since 1819. It is so difficult, however, to weigh such imponderables and to make allowance for changes in kinds of distinction, that it is probably safer to allow the reader to "roll his own" figures.

In politics, and in college administration (two fields not so far separated in the days of the Dartmouth College Case !), the graduates of the old-fashioned classical curriculum most frequently achieved distinction. Although the graduates of 1796–1822 comprised less than a quarter of the alumni, they furnished one-third of the total number of college presidents, over a third of the United States Senators, nearly a half of the members of Congress, and nearly two-thirds of the cabinet officers, contributed by the total number of Dartmouth alumni. The only group of distinguished men where there was a smaller percentage under the 1796 curriculum than for the entire period was that of college professors. This fact at least removes from our distinguished list the odium of being built up on mere professors.

The interest in the strenuous legal and political life of the time was general in the days of both Webster and Choate; but it is reasonable to suppose that this interest was strengthened by the virility of their college life and by the very strenuousness of the curriculum and its admirable preparation for public service of that generation. Choate, for example, ambitious as a Sophomore for graduate study in "a foreign University," becoming actively involved in the legal vicissitudes of the College Case and greatly impressed by Webster's legal and oratorical power, turned from his ideal of a college professorship to what had seemed to him "the tiresome routine of a special pleader's life."

Under this curriculum were bred such scholars, administrators, lawyers and statesmen as President Francis Brown, Sylvanus Thayer (reorganizer of West Point and founder of the Thayer School), James Marsh (President and reorganizer of the University of Vermont, and forerunner of Emerson and the Transcendentalists), George Ticknor (author of the *History of Spanish Literature* and Professor of Spanish at Harvard), George Perkins Marsh (philologist and diplomat), Webster, Choate, Joel Parker (Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and Royal Professor of Law in Harvard, one of half a dozen great jurists and law teachers of his day), Levi Woodbury, and Thaddeus Stevens. Nor were there wanting a host of the humbler servers of mankind who escaped notoriety and the statistician; devoted pastors in villages made more wholesome through unassuming, high-minded leadership; scores of teachers in schools; and missionaries notable for the range as well as devotion of their Wheelock-like work in "civilizing and Christianizing." Drop the plummet where you will, it reveals quiet depths of intelligent service.

There were, of course, limitations, weaknesses, and some drab passages, in College and in the curriculum with its inescapable, serious and continuous hard work. A recent road map with unintentional humor thus describes the college: "Here is Dartmouth College all granite and macadam!" In the earlier stone age, a century ago, the granite of New Hampshire happily did not clog the student's brains, but, true to the latter part of the college motto, contributed to "make his paths straight." The finer qualities were not, however, lacking. Webster's own accounts of his college and later reading, Choate's *Journals*, the surprisingly comprehensive libraries of both men, the testimony of competent witnesses, show these brilliant but well-balanced and influential undergraduates reading the best literature with discrimination, acquiring a genuine taste for fine things, developing clarity of thought and power of expression, making

their widened interests serviceable to themselves and others, and continuing to do so throughout life.

The college and its curriculum certainly tended to develop public-mindedness as well as intellectuality. Nor was college life all seriousness, but, rather, one of happy, wholesome, stimulating friendships and ambitions which led each of these two scholarly statesmen, jurists and orators to return at every opportunity to "endeared Hanover," "dear old village," and to wish for a son a "college life as exquisitely happy as my own."

It does not solve our problem to say that such men as Webster and Choate were exceptional. The obvious query remains. Is Dartmouth attracting and educating the exceptional men of to-day?

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